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The Lord Mayor's shows from Peele to Settle : a study of literary content, organization, and methods of production.

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THE LORD MAYORS' SHOWS FROM PEELE TO SETTLE:

A STUDY OF

LITERARY CONTENT, ORGANIZATION, AND METHODS

OF PRODUCTION

Two Volumes

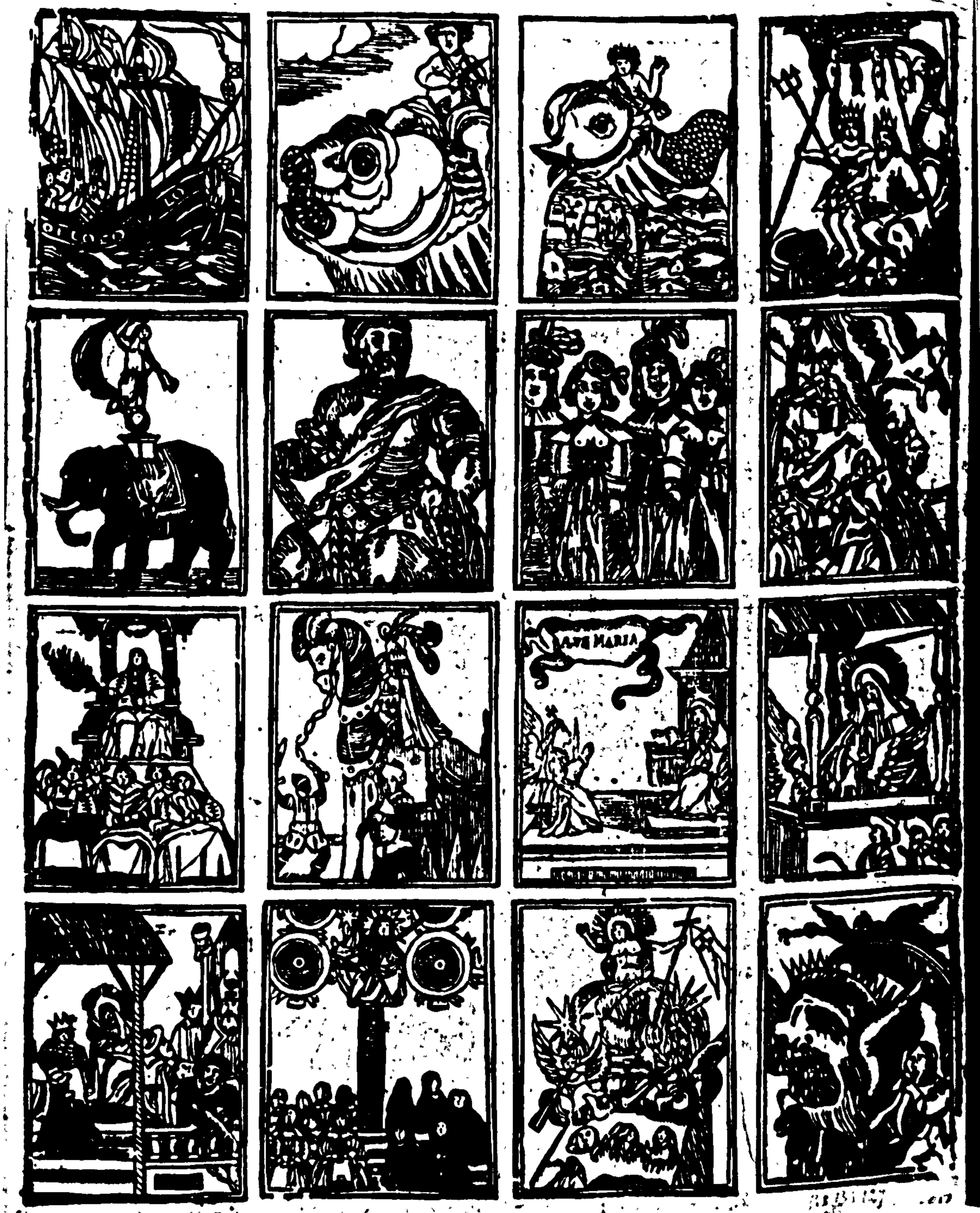
by Sheila Hannah Williams (nee Knapton)

A thesis submitted in candidacy for the degree of Ph. D. (Internal) in the Faculty of Arts in the University of London

Volume 1

Abstract

The London Lord Mayor's Show had two origins: The Lord Mayor's journey to Westminster to be sworn before the King, dating from the twelfth century; and the sixteenth century Midsummer Watch. In 1585, the year of the first extant pamphlet describing the Show, there was but a single pageant; within thirty years the Show was an impressive sige, and remained so, as pamphlets and eyewitness accounts alike indicate, despite the satirical tone of the latter, till 1708, when the last descriptive pamphlet was published. The Show was for the glory of the City, and was paid for and organized by the major Company from which the Lord Mayor was drawn. One cause of the Shows decease was the increased unwillingness of the Companies to pay. The necessary exacting arrangements for the procession and tableaux were partly delegated. The poet and artificer of a Show were responsible, in various combinations of responsibility, for the device and construction of the pageants, the writing of the speeches and pamphlets. The artificers, except Garret Christmas, were obscure. The poets included Jonson, Middleton, Peele, John Tatham,, Thomas Jordan, and Elkanah Settle. It is often possible to suggest reasons for the appointment of a particular poet, though no rule can be laid down. On the whole the earlier pageant-poets were superior, but Jordan is an exception. The word"pageant-poet"is usually to be preferred to "city-poet", since this latter suggests an office, which did not exist except possibly in Settle's case, and even then there was no pay.


AVE MARIA

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VOLUME 2.

ILLUSTRATIONS

"blusteringe & ranye, much Company to see ye Vanety ye Cittye & ye Maior & fooleryes thereat"

(Entry in The Diary of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, 1633/51 for October 29, 1638 (f.21v); British Museum MS. Harleian 454.)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

One hundred and twenty three years are covered by this thesis; they are the years, from 1585 to 1708, during which the Lord Mayor's Show was at its height as a public entertainment. A printed description of the Show was nearly always issued and is usually extant. The Show which the pamphlets deseribed consisted largely of tableaux to which verses were spoken; the general scheme of the Show, the verses, and the descriptive pamphlet were all devised by a poet. Before 1585 there were often tableaux and verses, but if any printed descriptions were issued they do not survive. After 1708 tableaux appeared only occasionally and the services of a writer were discontinued. The period between 1585 and 1708, therefore, is the most likely to yield results to an investigator of the Lord Mayor's Show with a literary point of view.

The Lord Mayor, in honour of whose inauguration the Show was held, belonged by custom to one of the twelve major Companies of the City of London; and his Company paid for the Show. Throughout the period it took place on the twenty-ninth day of October, the morrow of the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, unless that day was a Sunday, in which case the Show was postponed

for twenty-four hours. The route followed was, within fairly narrow limits, fixed. The retiring Lord Mayor, the Lord Mayor Elect, the City dignitaries, selected members of the Companies, officials of the procession, musicians, and so on, processed from the Guildhall to Three Cranes Wharf or nearby. Thence the Lord Mayors and important members of the Companies sailed in their respective boats to Westminster, and returned after the swearing-in of the new Lord Mayor. There was entertainment in the form of pageantry and music, sometimes on the journey upstream, but more often on the return journey downstream. Meanwhile the rest of the procession breakfasted and then proceeded to Paul's Wharf or thereabouts to meet the Lord Mayor and dignitaries as they disembarked. Sometimes a pageant or a costumed personage was also there. Thence the procession, the Lord Mayor and dignitaries last, walked to Paul's Churchyard, and after that to the Guildhall. It was on this short last lap of the journey, between Paul's Churchyard and the Guildhall, that the Show principally took place. Pageants stationed at convenient points were seen by all, though the speeches from them can scarcely have been heard by more than the Lord Mayor and his immediate entourage. If the pageants were, as was usual, moveable, they joined in the procession in front of the Lord Mayor and preceded him to the Guildhall, where the

Banquet was held. Before the Civil War the procession, including the pageants, returned after the Banquet to St. Paul's, where the City dignitaries attended Divine Service. Then the Lord Mayor was escorted to his home, which for the whole period served as his official, as well as his private, residence. At his gate there was usually a simple pageant or a costumed speaker to bid him good-night. During the latter part of the period the Show most frequently ended with the Banquet, its organizers omitting not only Service, but also the public farewell to his Lordship. The whole ceremony was a great occasion in the life of bourgeois London.

The writer on the Lord Mayor's Show is faced from the outset with the fact that his subject is relevant to several different, if related, fields of study. In particular the Show is of great interest to the student of the social, and even the political, history of the period. Such aspects lie outside the scope or this study, though the accounts in chapter one of the public reception of several Lord Mayors' Shows may give some indication of their importance in London life. The first chapter, however, is especially devoted to establishing the lineage of the Lord Mayor's Show, which may be briefly described as being by the traditional swearing-in procession out of the Midsummer Show, and to giving a general survey of the Show from its

early beginnings to its demise as a literary form after 1708.

There are two principal sources for knowledge about the Lord Mayor's Show, and, therefore, two principal slants of investigation. The first source comprises MS material mainly in the possession of the twelve major Companies of London. Since these Companies paid for and supervised the organization of the Show this is a very rich source. In this thesis I have relied mainly on the MSS in the possession of the Drapers', Grocers', and Haberdashers' Companies. I am satisfied that they are reasonably representative. The descriptive pamphlets issued most years constitute the second main source for knowledge about the Show. Their essential parts are the detailed descriptions of the pageants and the copies of the verses spoken, but they often include interesting minor features such as the order of the procession and dedications. In writing this thesis I have used all the descriptive pamphlets.

Certain MS sources have been drawn upon in chapter one in my attempt to establish the lineage of the Show, and certain of the descriptive pamphlets in my attempt to describe the development of the Show, but my main endeavour in that chapter has been to present a general picture. I have not seen one of this type elsewhere.

Chapter two is devoted to an analysis of the MS sources insofar as they throw light on the finances, organization, and production of the Show. The descriptive pamphlets have been used only as supplementary material. There have been some previous contributions in this field. J.B.Heath, in Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers (3rd.ed. London. 1869), and A.H.Johnson, in The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London (5 vols. Oxford. 1914/22); quoted from and reproducedsome of the documents, but neither of these writers was specially interested in the Lord Mayor's Show or the seventeenth century. R.C. Bald contributed an article, "Middleton's Civic Employments", to Modern Philology (vol.xxxi(1933).pp.65/78). The third volume of the Malone Society Collections (Oxford. 1955), includes a selection from the documents in the possession of all twelve major City Companies. The Society has not aimed at a complete transcript and its selection includes documents only before 1642.

In chapter 2 here I have tried to analyze the organization of the Shows, with special reference to those of the Drapers', Grocers', and Haberdashers' Companies, throughout the century. I have based the chapter on my transcripts of the MS sources of these Companies, which are reproduced in my second volume,

o/ The poet and the artificer collaborated to devise the tableaux, build them, write the illustrative speeches and the descriptive pamphlet, and to hire the actors and clothe them. Chapter three is a study of these two Key men: their power, the probable reasons for their appointment, their respective functions, their relations with each other, their suitability, and other relevant matters. More has been said about the poets than about the artificers, who were nearly all very obscure. I believe that no extended study of this type has before been attempted.

The fourth chapter is concerned directly with the pageantry described in the descriptive pamphlets. F.W.Fairholt, in Lord Mayors' Pageants (Percy Society Pub-lications. vol.10. 1843), did valuable work in this field, and R.Withington devoted a large portion of his monumental English Pageantry: An Historical Outline (2 vols. Cambridgg,Mass. 1918/20) to an account of the Lord Mayor's Show. Both these writers described the Shows in chronological order, relying heavily on paraphrase of and quotation from the descriptive pamphlets. It seemed a superfluous labour to multiply such studies, and my aim, therefore, has been different. I have tried to relate the London Lord Mayors' Shows to their close relatives, the Renaissance London royal entries and the annual civic triumphs at Antwerp. I am indebted

to F.W.Fairholt's study for first drawing my attention to the connection between the Lord Mayor's Show and the Antwerp Ommegang, though my conclusion as to the nature of the connection is different from his.

The final chapter is a consideration of the songs and song drama of the Shows. Inevitably, since there were comparatively few songs in the Shows before the Civil War, the chapter is devoted principally to the late Shows, whose impact was often transformed by the presence of a large musical element. I have tried to relate the songs, and through them the Shows, to contemporary and nearly contemporary fashions of dramatic and semi-dramatic entertainment. I am far from claiming that this task has been carried out completely; it is, rather, a first attempt to see the Shows as part of the general literary scene. The chapter contains, I believe, the fullest account of Thomas Jordan, a decidedly interesting minor poet, and by far the best of the later pageant-poets, so far offered. The account is not, however, and is not intended to be, a detailed study of Thomas Jordan in his own right.

Volume 2 is a collection of documents, most of which are new. Appendices 1, 2, and 3 include most of the documents relating to the Lord Mayor's Show in the possession of the Drapers', Grocers', and Haberdashers' Companies. In all three cases the detailed

accounts for the Shows are given. Appendix 4 is a reproduction of a typescript (given to me by Professor Blockmans of Antwerp) of an unprinted MS preserved in the Stadsarchief at Antwerp. It is a list of properties permanently kept for the Ommegang. Appendix 5 contains musical settings for several of the songs of the Lord Mayors' Shows. In Appendix 6 is a typescript of the Huntington Library copy of Munday's rare descriptive pamphlet for 1611, Chrusothriambos. This pamphlet has not been reprinted.

Quotations have been indicated by single spacing; they are indented five spaces, and paragraphs ten. A system of brackets and symbols has been used for quotations and documents:

( ) reproduces similar brackets in the original

[ ] indicates my words in a passage not otherwise mine

< > indicates emendations

⌈ ⌉ indicates interlineations

⌊ ⌋ indicates words deleted in the original

ꝛ ꝰ reproduces the -es sign

ꝑ ꝓ ꝯ reproduce the signs for per, pro

is used to represent abbreviations expressed by extensions to the preceding letter

Occasional forward cross-references have been given, especially in the first chapter, if I wanted to refer to a matter that was more appropriately discussed in detail later. These references are for the reader's convenience only, and in no case is it necessary for the comprehension of the earlier passage that the later be looked up.

I should like to make a number of acknowledgments. The subject of this thesis was suggested, and its inception supervised, by Professor J.R. Sutherland; its development has been supervised by Professor J. Isaacs. I must thank the Clerks of the Drapers', Grocers', and Haberdashers' Companies for kindly granting me access to the private archives of those Companies, and Professor Blockmans for the typescript of the MS referred to above. Finally, I should like to thank Mademoiselle Jacqueling Klaassen, Miss Regina Kibel, and Mr. Andrew Dudman for time generously spent in proof-reading.

1. THE GENERAL PICTURE.

With Peele's Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi, Lord Maior of the Citie of London. An. 1585, October 29., the Lord Mayor's Show enters the field of extant published literature. The Lord Mayor's Show itself, however, goes back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and its twin origins further still.

The mayoralty of London came into existence between 1191 and 1193[1] during the absence of Richard Lionheart on a Crusading expedition, when the establishment of the Commune of London was the price exacted from John, the king's brother, for support against Longchamp, the king's representative.[2] The value that this relative independence assumed in the eyes of Londoners is clearly reflected in the infectious delight of a citizen's boast, made as early as 1194:

> Come what may, the Londoners shall have no king but their mayor.[1]

Hence the annual journey of the mayor - or Lord Mayor[1] as he came to be called, without any formal change of title, from about 1540 onwards[2] - from London

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1. J.H. Round, The Commune of London, Westminster, 1899, p.225.
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XI Ed. H.B. Wheatley, "London Government". Also J.H. Round, The Commune of London, p.224.

across the fields to Westminster, or occasionally to the Tower,[1] where he was formally accepted as mayor by the king, or, in his absence, his representative, became an occasion of rejoicing, and, in the end, of some splendour, that contributed at least one important element to the Lord Mayor's Show of the seventeenth century. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the "riding" was sufficiently developed to require six minstrels, and the procession sufficiently large to be marshalled and kept in order by a beadle.[2] Minstrels and a horseman were also required for the riding of Sir Robert Otteley in 1436,[3] and the sums spent on clothing on that occasion suggest a fairly impressive procession.

The accountants note the payment of £55. 13s. 9½d for

> the ridyng clothing of Robert Otteley chosen Meir[4]

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1. R. Withington, English Pageantry, 2 vols. Harvard, 1918/20. ii,4.
2. Facsimile of the First Volume of the MS Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, transcribed J.A. Kingdon, London, 1886. 3 vols. Part 1, p.91. "Item qe nous auoms paie pur le chiuache du Johan Walcote Mayr pur vj mynstralez pur lour salerye Summa xl s
Item pur lour chaperons et pur le Fessure Summa viij s̃
Item pur lour dyner et pur vyn pur le chemyn Summa xxj d̃
Item pur un cheual pur le Bedyl Summa iiij d̃"
3. ibid. Pt.2, p.237. "Item Wagis for mynstralles v li xij s̃ viij d̃", p.241. "Item payd for un horse for Wylliam Harlyntrich at þe Meyris ridyng xij d"
4. ibid. Pt.2, p.235.

and of £46

For xx clothis of lyuerey a yeinst the rydyng of Robert Otteley mair.[1]

The same year there is proof that it was already a custom for the Sheriffs to go to Westminster to take their oaths by barge. The accountants payed 4/6d

For a barge to Westmyster at þe Scherreuys goyng as þe maner is.[2]

This is nearly twenty years before John Norman, Draper, went to Westminster by water when he was Mayor. Middleton and Munday[3] in later Lord Mayors' Shows see Norman's journey as an epoch-making event in the development of the glories associated with the mayoralty: they say he was the first mayor who went to Westminster by water, that he rowed with silver oars, and brought such prosperity to the Thames boatmen by the fine example he set that they made a song in his honour :

Row thy boat, Norman;/Row to thy leman[3]

Nevertheless Norman had predecessors who went to Westminster by water; an order of Common Council of the same year confirms, not institutes, the

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1. ibid. Pt.2.,p.237.
2. ibid. Pt.2.,p.241.
3. T.Middleton, The Sunne in Aries, 1619, sig. BV; A. Munday, Himatia Poleos, 1614, p.8.

practice.[1] The important point, however, is the establishment of the custom, for this is the really individual contribution of the "ridings" to the later Lord Mayor's Show. The procession with its minstrels and beadles was not only obvious, but also, had there been no "riding", might have derived from the ceremonial approach of the mayor and sheriffs to the Midsummer Show. But the displays on the Thames at the later mayoral inaugurations derived uniquely from the earlier development of the "riding" on the same occasion. When Hall explicitly compares the Company preparations for Anne Boleyn's coronation - each major Company had a barge on the Thames, the mayor's barge, richly covered, carried streamers and banners, and there was a gally foist - with those that they customarily made for the mayor's installation,[2] he indicates, not only that the water celebrations were already fairly magnificent, but also, perhaps,

1. A.H.Johnson, History of the Drapers' Company. 5 vols. Oxford. 1914. i, 131. R. Withington suggests that the memorable novelty in Norman's case was that he "Caused a Barge to be made at his own Charge" (Stow ed. Strype, ii, 121. "Temporal Government") English Pageantry, ii, 7. Certainly this was not customary. Cf. Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. v.3. The History of the Vintners' Company, by W.H. Overall, etc. p.20 (1508): "Item for barge hyre when the Mayor tok his charge . xv s."

2. E. Halle, Chronicle (The Vnion of the two...famelies), 1548. f.C.C.xii(v).

that they were something of an inspiration to the devisers of the royal Show. This is not to say that there was pageantry proper on the Thames on Lord Mayor's Day at that early date. In fact, the debt there may well be the other way round.[1]

The other principal root of the Lord Mayor's Day pageantry was the Midsummer Show. Stow's description has often been quoted, but remains the best general account of the Show. He relates that

> On the Vigil of Saint John Baptist, and on Saint Peter and Paul the Apostles,... [there were]... the standing Watches, all in bright Harness, in every Ward and Street in this City and Suburbs, there was also a marching Watch, that passed through the principal Streets thereof;...For the furniture whereof with Lights, there were appointed 700 Cressets, 500 of them being found by the Companies, the other 200 by the Chamber of London. Besides the which Lights, every Constable in London, in number more than 240 had his Cresset: the Charge of every Cresset was in light two Shillings Four Pence: and every Cresset had two Men, one to bear or hold it, another to bear a Bag with Light, and to serve it: so that the Poor Men pertaining to the Cressets taking Wages, besides that every one had a strawen Hat, with a Badge painted, and his breakfast, amounted in number to almost 2000. The marching Watch contained in number about 2000 Men; part of them being old Soldiers,...Whifflers, Drummers, and Fifes, Standard and Ensign Bearers,... There were also divers Pageants, Morris Dancers, Constables; the one half which was 120, on St. John's Eve, the other half on Saint Peter's Eve, in bright Harness, some over Gilt, and every one a Jornet of Scarlet thereupon, and a Chain of Gold, his Hench Man following him, his Minstrels before him, and his Cresset Light passing by him: the Waits of the City, the Maiors Officers, for his Guard before him, all in

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1. See pp.197-202.

a Livery of Woosted or Sea Jackets, party coloured; the Maior himself well mounted on Horseback, the Sword Bearer before him in fair Armour, well mounted also; the Maiors Foot Men, and the like Torch Bearers about him; Hench Men twain, upon great stirring Horses following him. The Sheriffs Watches came one after the other in like Order, but not so large in Number as the Maiors: for where the Maior had, besides his Giant, three Pageants, each of the Sheriffs had besides their Giants, but two Pageants; each their Morris Dance, and one Hench Man, their Offices in Jackets of Woosted, or Sea party coloured, differing from the Maiors, and each from other, but having harnessed Men a great many, &c,

This Midsummer Watch was thus accustomed Yearly, time out of Mind, until the Yeare 1539,...[1]

The records of the Drapers' Company yield some interesting information about the importance of pageantry in the Midsummer Shows. At the end of the fifteenth century the mayor seems to have had, not Stow's three pageants, but only one. That one, which was decorated with gold and silver paper, required thirteen men to carry it.[2] The comparative simplicity of the arrangements is shown in their cost: a mere £5. 15. 10d.[2] against a total for Midsummer pageantry a quarter of a century later of £38. 13. 10½d.[3]

1. J.Stow, ed. Strype, A Survey of London, 2 vols. 1720. i, 256. I use Strype's edition for convenience. Quoted passages do not differ materially from Stow's Survey, 1603.
2. Drapers' Hall MS. Drapers' Wardens' Accounts, 1475/1509. +403(1477) ff.9a,v. See Johnson, History of Drapers' Company, v.ii, App.7a, 273/4.
3. Drapers' Hall MS + 403.f.77a. 1503. See Johnson ibid. i,158n.

In 1510 not only the mayor but also one of the sheriffs was a Draper, and the Company seem to have provided four pageants,[1] without counting one that the Bachelors paid for themselves.[2]

Two years later the Drapers' Wardens are for the first time explicit about the Midsummer entertainment. They paid

> for the Charge of iij pagente that is to say Saynt Blythe. Achilles. and thassumpcion. and also a Morish daunce / beside the Castell of were that the Bachillers paid for them self3 [3]

Of the four pageants, excluding the dance, only two are religious. Achilles antedates by ten years the pageant of the Golden Fleece - again owned by the Drapers[4] - that made its way into the pageantry welcoming Charles V and into the Midsummer Show of the same year and has been claimed as the first example of classical pageantry in London.[5] The Castle of War is most nearly allegorical and perhaps drawn from romance. Although there is no secular historical element yet, a move towards it can shortly be

1. Drapers' Hall MS. Drapers' Wardens' Accounts,+143.f.4a.
2. ibid. This may be the same pageant that is identified as "the Castell of were that the Bachillers paid fore them self3 " in ibid.f.6a(1511/12).
3. Drapers' Hall MS, Drapers' Wardens' Accounts,(1511/2)f.6a.
4. R. Withington, English Pageantry, 1,40.
5. ibid.i,176,179.

discerned. One[1] of the three pageants provided by the Skinners for their mayor Sir Thomas Mirfyn in 1519 was almost a short play about St. Thomas Becket; it involved the saint, Gilbert a Becket, his father, a Jewess representing his mother, the knight Tracy and a gaoler with a prison.[2] It is true that, as a canonised saint, Becket was part of the life of the Church; but Becket was also

> the tradesman's son: the back-stairs brat who was born in Cheapside.[3]

As such he was in the heritage of the trading Companies. The first purely secular historical character to appear in the Midsummer Shows was William the Conqueror in the Ironmongers' Show of 1534.[4]

In 1521 the Midsummer pageants were the Castle of War, the Story of Jesse, Saint John the Evangelist, and the Assumption of Our Lady "very wele done."[5] Also they had a King of the Moors and a morris dance "in the stede of an o|r pagent."[5] Of these the Story of Jesse and the King of the Moors are particularly interesting.

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1. The other two were of Our Lady and St. Elizabeth, and a Maundy pageant, with "13 children playing God Almighty and His 12 Apostles, at 2 pence the piece". See J.J.Lambert, Records of the Skinners of London, 1 vol., London, 1933. pp. 145,148.
2. J.J.Lambert, Records of the Skinners, p.146/7.
3. T.S.Eliot, Murder in the Cathedral, 4th ed. 1938.p.59.
4. R.Withington, English Pageantry, i,41. J.Nicholl, Some Account of Ironmongers. 1866. App.x, p.xv f.
5. Drapers' Hall MS. Rep. 7. f.171 (June 3, 1521)

The Story of Jesse[1] was the history of his remoter descendants, the genealogical tree of the ancestry of Our Lord, and is interesting as a late example, in England, of the unadapted mediaeval iconography that was to be secularised in both the sixteenth century English royal entries,[2] including that of Charles V[2], and the seventeenth century Lord Mayor's Shows.[3]

The detailed accounts that survive for this Midsummer Show devote much attention to the King of the Moors. He was royally presented on a stage, with wild fire playing about him, and a pavilion borne over his head. The Drapers used

iij yerde of rede satten of cypers for the king of Moore mantyll,
l yerd & di blak satten of Cipres ix^{d} for a garland for the king of Moore heed,

and
iiij^{or} leves of sylu^{r} paper for the King of Moore shoos.[4]

The King of the Moors is interesting since he and his countrymen remained familiar figures in the later Lord

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1. That this was the Story of Jesse here is shown by a general description of this Show by an eyewitness. Cal.of State Papers (Venetian) ed.R.Brown,1869. iii,136/7. See p.24/5
2. E.Halle, Chronicle (Vnion), 1548.ff.lxxxxvi(96) and lxxxxviii(98).
3. See T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor. 1628.sig.Bv/B2; A.Munday,Chrysanaleia,1616.sig.B2; T.Middleton,Honor and Industry.sig.BV.
4. Drapers' Hall MS. Drapers' Rep.7. ff.172/4.(1521)

Mayors' Shows. The King and Queen of the Moors, appear, for example, in Middleton's The Triumphs of Truth, 1613.[1] There is no question of imitation - a Moorish boy led a camel in an Antwerp procession,[2] a naked Moor standing on the top of a pavilion was a prominent feature of the inauguration of the mayor of Norwich in 1556,[3]

> disguising as negresses [is noticed as] having been a favourite fashion with the ladies of Elizabeth"[4]

while in 1604 Jonson, explaining the plot of his Masque of Blackness, says

> it was her Maiesties will, to haue them [i.e. the masquers] Black-mores at first;[5]

nor should Othello itself be forgotten. But although there is no question of imitation, there is a question of continuity.

The Drapers the next year arranged for the exhibition of the Golden Fleece,[6] but their Show of 1529 was virtually mediaeval. There were four pageants, St. John the Evangelist, Saint Ursula, The Assumption, and Jesse.[7] Only the additional elements - the morris

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1. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth.1613.sig.B4v.
2. cf. p.259
3. R.Withington, English Pageantry, ii,16.
4. B.Jonson, Works, ed.Herford & Simpson,1925/52.v.2.p.265.
5. B.Jonson, Works, 1616,p.893.
6. R.Withington, English Pageantry, i,40. See also Herbert.
7. Drapers' Hall MS. Rep.7. f.343. (May,1529).

dance and the giant[1] - were secular. One of the pageants for 1534 is the interestingly abstract one of

> A ladye havyng a Romayn M. gift in her hond or A dyademe iiij sqware wt A grete M. at euȝ ye cornȝ.[2]

But secular pageantry remained, for the most part, in embryo in the Midsummer Shows. As late as 1536 the Drapers paid a

> paynter ffor makyng of A pagente of the Assompcyon of our ladye,[3]

Three years later the Midsummer Show was suppressed on the grounds of expense,[4] and occasional efforts to revive it[5] came to little. Already in 1540 the Drapers' pageant of the Assumption was used for the Lord Mayor's installation.[6] When we take our leave of Drapers' Midsummer Shows in 1541 they remain largely religious in inspiration: of the three Midsummer pageants to be finished by the morn of Midsummer Eve during the mayoralty of the Draper Sir William Roche, one was of Christ disputing with the Doctors in the temple, and

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1. ibid. The giant - apparently a regular feature - had appeared in 1521 (Drapers' Rep.7.f.172/4) and in the Skinners' Midsummer Show of 1519 (J.J.Lambert, Records of Skinners, p.146.)
2. Drapers' Hall MS. Drapers' Rep.7. f.466.
3. Drapers' Hall MS. Drapers' Wardens' Accounts,1535/6. ff.7a/8a.
4. J.Stow, ed.Strype, Survey, 1720. i,256.
5. ibid. pp.256/7.
6. Drapers' Hall MS. Rep.7.f.617.(12 Oct.1540)

another of St. Margaret[1]; only one was secular. That pageant of a rock[1] is a clear example not only of a secular pageant, but of the punning upon the Lord Mayor's name that became so common in later Lord Mayor's Shows.[2]

From 1540 to 1585 there are sufficient records of the Lord Mayor's Show, which developed as the Midsummer Show declined, to suggest, though not prove, that it quickly became an annual event, as the Midsummer Show had been, and to indicate what it was like in those years before printed records are available. In 1540 itself, the Drapers' Company on October 12th

> aggreed to ∧[haue] the pageaunt of thassumpcon^{3} boren befor^{3} the mayr^{3} from the towr to the gild hall And that by a p^{3}cydent in the iid tyme of s^{3} Iohn aleyn beyng mayr^{3}

This is interesting in that it puts back the first Lord Mayor's Show of which we have a definite record, however unspecific, for five years. Sir John Alleyn, Mercer, was mayor in 1525, and again in 1535. More important is that it establishes beyond all doubt the derivation of the Lord Mayor's pageantry. The pageant

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1. Drapers' Hall MS. Rep.7.f.649. See Johnson, History of Drapers' Company, ii,274.
2. cf. p.211.
3. Drapers' Hall MS. Rep.7.f.617.(Oct.12,1640) cf. [illegible].

of the Assumption was a regular Drapers' Midsummer pageant.

Sir Henry Hubbathorne, Merchant Taylor, Lord Mayor in 1546, appears, according to the books of the Merchant Taylors' Company, to have been honoured with much music, including

> the hoole blaste of y^e^ Kynge Trompetors for plaing as well in the barge as that daye,[1]

but with no pageant. The Diary of Henry Machyn[2] gives some account of the Show for most of the years from 1553 to 1662. From him we learn that in 1553, when a Merchant Taylor was Lord Mayor

> came y^e^ pagant of sant Iohn baptyst gorgyvsly w^t^ goodly speches,[3]

and the next year the

> nuw lor⟨d⟩mayre of london ⓜ lyons groser... ⟦had⟧ a goodly pagant, a gryffen w^t^ a chy⟨ld⟩, lyung in harness, & sant Iohn baptyst w^t^ a lyon, & ij vodys & a dulle w^t^ squybes bornyng.[4]

Machyn's account for 1555 evokes the atmosphere of excitement with which he himself must have watched the Show but gives no details of the pageant. He says that

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1. R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company, Privately Printed. 1931. p. 14.
2. Henry Machyn, Diary. B.M. Cottonian MS. Vitellius F.5.(cf. Ed. J.G. Nichols. Camden Soc., 1848).
3. Henry Machin, Diary. B.M. Cottonian MS. Vitellius F.5. 29 Oct. 1553.
4. ibid. 29 Oct. 1554.

in powll cherche yerde ther mett ye bachelars & a goody pagyant & a lxvj men ^[in] blue gownes, & wt goodly targate & gaffelynes & a duwll and iiij tall me lyke wodys all in gren & trupete playng a for ye mare.[1]

Neither Machyn[2] nor the Merchant Taylors' records[3] say what Sir Thomas Offley's pageant in 1556 was, and the next year Machyn merely records that at the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Curtis, Fishmonger,

at ye powlle cheyrche yerd ther ye pagantt stod... & ye pagantt browth hym home.[4]

Machyn was sufficiently impressed with the pageant of 1561, made for Sir William Harper, to call it

a pagantt gorgyously mad wt chylderyn,[5]

but the Merchant Taylors' records are more enlightening. According to them the pageant was indeed very ornate and complicated, ~~it would probably have been spread~~ ~~by this several at the next pageant.~~ There was

Orpheus playeng upon his harpe, and Trees, Rivers, Mountaynes as Daunsinge & harkeninge.
Amphion so, wth a Citie & the wall, a buyldinge & the stones as voluntary Ronninge to it.
Arion syttinge on a Dolphin in the sea playeng on the harpe.
Topas so, before a table of princ & eu'y of theis to have his posie.[6]

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1. ibid. 29 Oct. 1555.
2. ibid. 29 Oct. 1556.
3. R.T.D.Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants. pp.21/31.
4. H.Machyn, Diary. 29 Oct.1557.
5. ibid. 29 Oct.1561.
6. R.T.D.Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants, p.39.(See pp.34/41).

That this was but one pageant is shown by the last entry, following immediately upon "have his posie":

> In all place of the pageant to 'have paynted the verses of the CLth psalme[1],

which sorted well with the various musicians and with David himself, the principal speaker. Sir Thomas Lodge, Grocer, in 1562 also had

> a goodly pagantt w^{t} goodly musyke[2].

In 1575, that is, ten years before the first printed account of the Show, there was an illuminating and fairly detailed account, from the spectator's point of view, of the Lord Mayor's Show, in A Breffe Discription of the Royall Citie of London, Capitall Citie of this Realme of Englande, [a manuscript,] Wrytten by me william Smythe, Citezen and Haberdasher of London 1575[3]. The Lord Mayor

> goeth by water to westmynster, in most tryvmphlyke maner,...[and] it is to be vnderstanded, that the Lyvereis of eu/y companye, do lande beffore y^{e} L. mayo^{r} and are redy in cheapsyde, before his comynge standinge a longe y^{e} street redy as he passeth by, and to make waye in the streetes, there are certayne men apparelled lyke devells & wylde men, wth

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1. R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p.39. (cf. pp.34/41
2. H. Machyn, Diary. 29 October. 1562.
3. Guildhall Library MS. 2463.

skybbs [Here is description of procession] ...Then [comes] the pageant of Tryvmphe rychly decked, whervppon by certayne fygures & wrytinges, (partly towchinge the name of the sayd Mayor,) some matter towchinge Justice, and the office of a maiestrate is represented.

It should now be possible to form some picture of the Lord Mayor's Show as it was at the end of its "pre-history", immediately before it appears for the first time in an extant publication. First, it divides naturally into two parts: the Show on the water and, following it, the Show on the land. The first element was contributed by the development of the "riding" on Lord Mayor's Day. At the time of which we are speaking, there is no reason to suppose that there was pageantry on the Thames, but the splendid procession of richly decked barges bearing the principal men of the Companies, and the musical accompaniments to the procession, formed a good preparation for it. The Show on the land included first the procession and then the pageantry. In point of fact, the procession, with its minstrels, waits, beadles, and other accessories, would simply be a continuation of the procession there had always been on Lord Mayor's Day, but there was a similar procession of the mayor and sheriffs on St. John Baptist's and on St. Peter's and Paul's Vigils. The most striking point about the pageantry for the Lord Mayor at this date is that, according to all the accounts, from

whatever source, there was only one pageant. This is in sharp contrast to the practice of the Midsummer Watch, and, for that matter, of the royal entries.[1] The reason, on the assumption that the pageantry of the Midsummer Watch was transferred to the Lord Mayor's Show, is by no means clear. It is possible that, since the Midsummer Show was suppressed on the grounds of expense, the Companies refrained for some years from incurring equal expense, though within a few years of the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were paying out sums that would have horrified the most spendthrift organisers of Midsummer Watches.[2] That the pageant did come from the Midsummer Watch is indicated by the Drapers' record in 1540.[3] The rival source would be the London royal entries,[4] whose pageantry is secular like that of the printed Lord Mayors' Shows and unlike that of the majority of Midsummer pageants. The "prehistoric" Lord Mayors' Shows, however, are themselves largely religious in inspiration: the Drapers' pageant of the Assumption[5] and the Merchant Taylors' of St. John Baptist[6]

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1. See chap.4A
2. Cf. p.53.
3. cf. pp.11 & 12.
4. See chap.4A
5. cf. p. 12.
6. cf. p.13.

are examples in point. Further, the Midsummer Shows themselves were clearly in a discontinuous process of becoming secularised. This is not to deny that the royal entries may have exercised some influence on the content of the pageant, which, according to William Smythe, was

> towchinge the name of the sayd mayor... towchinge justice, and the office of a maiestrate...[1]

Playing on words was a common business; although the first time a mayor's name had been punned upon in a pageant was in a royal entry,[2] when a device of three wells at the Conduit in Cheapside, had echoed the name of the mayor, John Wells, who, with a concourse of citizens, rode to Blackheath to welcome Henry VI after his coronation in France, yet much more recently the same thing had happened in a Midsummer Show.[3] Justice and the office of a magistrate rose as subjects naturally out of the nature of Lord Mayor's Day, but writers may have taken a hint from the treatment of Queen Elizabeth's office and her relation to her subjects by the authors of her coronation passage,[4] which antedated William Smythe's description by

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1. cf. p.211.
2. 1415. Lydgate, Entry of Henry VI into London after his coronation in France. B.M. MS. Cotton Cleop. C.iv. f. 38/48.
3. cf. p.12. - pageant of rock when Sir William Roche was Lord Mayor.
4. cf. chap.4. p.209/10.

seventeen years. Perhaps familiarity with regal pageantry was partly responsible for Peele's adulation of Queen Elizabeth in Descensus Astraeae. But a more vital distinction is between the stationary pageants of the royal entries and the moving pageants of the Midsummer marching watch.[1] And in this important respect the Lord Mayors' pageants from first[2] to last, with fairly rare if sometimes impressive exceptions,[3] followed the practice of the Midsummer Show.

From 1585 onwards the principal sources of information about the Lord Mayors' Shows are the accounts of them published in pamphlet form, and the records of moneys paid for them by the City Companies.[4] It is clear from these that the Lord Mayor's Show changed considerably between 1585 and 1708, the date of Settle's last descriptive pamphlet. Peele's pamphlet in 1585 and Thomas Nelson's in 1590, are concerned with a single pageant, (as in the earlier Shows), introduced by a presenter separate from the pageant. Descensus Astraeae, 1591, appears to mark the beginning of water pageantry. The pamphlet does not describe

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1. cf. p. 23/4
2. cf. p.13. "came y^e^ pagant of sant Iohn baptyst gorgyvsly".
3. e.g. T.Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans, 1612. The Forlorn Castle. sig. B4/C.
4. See appended documents of Drapers', Grocers' and Haberdashers' Companies.

such pageantry directly, any more than it does the land pageant, but a speech[1] delivered on the water in the morning, when the Lord Mayor went to Westminster, is appended to the pamphlet without comment, and mentioned in the title page as "A Speech deliuered by one clad like a Sea Nymph, who presented a Pinesse on the water brauely rigd and mand, to the Lord Maior, all the time he tooke Barge to go to Westminster." The pageant was a ship laden with gold, precious stones and other treasures in which its crew had come to congratulate the Lord Mayor, and the speaker was a nymph attendant on Thetis. The Show on land remained a single pageant for some time. The Merchant Taylors' records for 1602[2] speak of

> a Pageon, a Shippe, a Lyon, and a Camell

while the Haberdashers' in 1604[3] ascribe to Ben Jonson

> his device, and speech for the Children.

The credit of the innovation of several pageants, as important as Peele's (if that is a genuine innovation) to Jonson and Munday of pageantic spectacle on the water, goes ~~almost~~ Munday probably devised the Show of 1602,[4] while Jonson's of 1604 had a chariot. ~~precedingly to Munday~~ The Show of 1605, The Triumphs of re-united Britania[5] involved a ship, "The royall Exchange

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1. sig. A.4.
2. Quoted Sayle, p.60.
3. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomandry accompt. 1604.
4. ~~A. Munday.~~ cf. p.130.
5. By Munday.

a lion and a camel ridden by Neptune and Amphitrita, the pageant itself, that was an allegory of national unity, and a chariot. It is true that quite disproportionate attention is devoted to the allegory of national unity, that is clearly considered to overshadow the others; that the ship may conceivably have been originally, in the morning, a water show, and that it may in any case be cancelled out against Peele's ship;[1] it is even just possible to consider the lion and camel as equivalents of the lynx ridden by a Moor[2], who had presented the pageant in 1585. This is to minimise as far as possible Munday's contribution to the Show, and the chariot, a most important and frequently used innovation, remains. After this a multiplicity of devices was the rule rather than the exception. Troia-Noua Triumphans[3] contains more than the average, but it is interesting since its date is as early as 1612: the first land pageant was a sea-chariot, followed by a throne or chariot of virtue; both these came up to and passed the stationary Forlorn Castle and reached the House of Fame, a movable pageant, and the last before the banquet; the Lord Mayor on returning home at night

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1. sig. A.4.
2. G.Peele, Device, sig. A.2.
3. T. Dekker.

found Justice mounted on a scaffold, and therefore forming a simple pageant, outside his gate. This may be a new development to be credited to Dekker; but the pageant had accompanied the Lord Mayor home in 1556; and there may have been a speech. In addition to these there was some kind of a show, but probably only a gally-foist, on the water; and there should have been also a musical pageant on the Thames. A comic element seems never to have been obligatory in the Shows, but appears early,[1] though not usually turning to laughter the pageantry itself. Dekker in 1628 presented

> a Chariot Triumphant,... drawne by two Luzernes, the Supporters of the Skinners' Armes. On the two Luzernes ride two Antickes, who dance to a Drum beating before them, there aptly placed.[2]

This humour itself may have been a legacy from the Midsummer Show. Though none of the Company records specify a comic pageant, a Venetian account of the Show of 1521[3] suggests a cruel humour in the first pageant, while the project for the 1585 MidsummerShow describes two henchmen on horseback

> their hedpeces and burganet to be made also of pasteboord after some straunge or antick manner.[4]

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1. See p.14.
2. T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor, 1628.sig.B.3.
3. See p.24/5.
4. J. Montgomery, Orderof a Watche, f.7v.

From the vantage point of the mature complexity of the Lord Mayor's Show before the gap of fifteen years caused by the Civil War it is possible to survey the ebb and flow of English civic pageantry, focussed in the relationship between the Lord Mayor's Show and the now long defunct Midsummer Watch. With Munday and Dekker, and Middleton and Heywood, the Show comprised a procession and a large number of pageants; under Peele's direction in 1585 there had been, on the other hand, a procession and but one pageant. By co-incidence, there had been in 1585 itself an attempt to revive the Midsummer Watch, whose project still survives, entitled ~~A Booke conteynning the Manner and Order of a Watche to be vsed in the Cittie of London upon the even at Night of Sainct John Baptist and Sainct Peeter, as in tyme past hath bene accustomed~~ A booke containing the manner and order of a watch to be vsed in the cittie of London upon the euen at Night of sainct Iohn baptist and sainct peeter as in tyme past hath bin accustomed,[1] by John Montgomery. The twenty folio pages of this manuscript are devoted almost entirely to a description of the procession. It is stated, however, that the mayor is to have "one pagent",[2] and that he is to

> appoynte one esspetiall man to take the charge and dy-rection of his pageant whoe firste to conduct the same to the northe churche yard of pawles by

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1. Corporation of London Records Office. (Unnumbered)
2. ~~f.~~8. A booke, f.8 r.

thower of .8. of the clock in the evening there to tarye the coming of the martching wattche into cheapside which being come he to place the said pageante into the said wattche to wete into the lord maior his owne band.[1]

Peele's pageant must have formed a similar single incident in the Lord Mayor's procession, while twenty years later the impressive pageantry quite dominated the scene. The nearest parallel to the Lord Mayor's Show at this date is not Peele's Show, closely related to the Midsummer Show in its decline, but the Midsummer Show at its height. A description of the Midsummer Show of 1521[2] from the pen of Lodovico Spinelli, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in England, is sufficient warning that English civic pageantry had earlier glories[3], even if forgotten ones.

The first pageant was of

> naked boys dyed black like devils, with the dart and buckler in their hands, goading the followers of Pluto, who was on a pulpit under a canopy seated on a serpent that spat fire; he himself being naked, with a drawn sword in his hand so contrived that, when he brandished it, it made the serpent vomit very fetid sulphuric fire-balls: and on the pulpit in front of Pluto were figures of an ox, a lion, and some serpents.
>
> Another band of steel-clad halberdiers marched next, preceding all the Prophets, with the tree of life sprouting from the belly of a recumbent male figure, and by ✱ certain mechanism the Prophets turned about from one side to the other.

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1. f.8 v.
2. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice. Ed. Rawdon Brown. London, 1869. Vol.3 (1520/26) p.136/7.
3. cf. p. 8/9.

They were followed by certain halberdiers, next to whom came a platform on which was a castle accompanied by musicians, and within it some armed men, who as they moved caused the draw-bridges to fall and rise, and on the walls were men standing with stones in their hands for its defence against a Turkish horseman in pursuit, armed with a very long tin sword tinged with blood, who terrified those within, shouting in English [<u>"wo be"</u>?].

Then came another band of halberdiers, followed by choristers on foot in white surplices, who preceded a stage on which was a very beautiful little girl under a canopy of brocade, representing the Virgin Mary, with four boys, also in white surplices, chanting [lauds]. ...

Next came a band of halberdiers with a stage, on which was Saint George, in armour, choking a big dragon and delivering Saint Margaret,

and a morris dance. All this preceded the mayor,

sheriffs and their attendants but there were two more

pageants after them:

the isle of Patmos with Saint John the Evangelist ahd some towers, from one of which he was leaning, and beneath were two little boys

and

Herod at table, with Herodias' daughter, the tumbler, and the executioner who beheaded St. John the Baptist, who was represented as being in prison on the pulpit described above.

Signore Spinelli's obvious admiration -

nor, [he says] do I believe that anywhere else in the world a similar mark of rejoicing is usual - is comprehensible. The Lord Mayor's Shows of a hundred years later were no more complex or carefully thought out.

There were certain new developments in the Lord Mayor's Shows after the Restoration. The most important of these was the prominence given, by Jordan, and after him by Taubman, to the banquet entertainment, which, if it took place, is not described in the earlier pamphlets. Sometimes the entertainment was in the nature of a jig or short play, as in the first to be described, that occupied about two thirds of Jordan's London's Resurrection.[1] On other occasions the entertainment seems to have been merely a group of songs sung at dinner.[2] Related to this is the greatly increased importance of song generally in the Show.[3] There had always been occasional songs in the Shows,[4] but now their importance had grown to such an extent that when the Ironmongers' Company employed Taubman for the first time after Jordan's long success, they stated they were employing him for his songs.[5]

The descriptive pamphlets themselves naturally underwent changes of form, style, and method of presentation in the hundred and twenty three years that

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1. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection, 1671. pp.6/18 (Total pp.1/20)
2. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee, 1686.pp.13/16. T.Jordan, London Triumphant, 1672.pp.13/20. T. Jordan, Triumph of London, 1675.pp.20/24.
3. See chap.5.
4. T.Dekker, London's Tempe, 1629.sig.B2v/B3 is the best.
5. J. Nicholl, Account of Ironmongers. 1866. pp. 304/5.

saw the beginning and end of the series. The Merchant Taylors' records[1] for 1561 give in full the speeches and the speakers' names, and indeed add some description of the pageant;[2] Peele's 1585 pamphlet merely gives the speeches, and the child speakers' names. The only other information is that a person dressed like a Moor rode before the pageant on a lynx;[3] and that the pageant carried the arms of England, under which were written four lines of Latin verse. With very slight variations, the same applies to Nelson's pamphlet and to Descensus Astraeae, 1591. In the latter Peele gives some clue when he places Astraeae with her sheep-hook on the top of the Pageant,[4] and Superstition, a friar, sitting by a fountain.[5] But this information slips out incidentally, whereas a fair, if brief, description is given of the background of the pageant, where,

> towchinge the name of the sayd mayor,[6]

Sir William Webb, a child representing Nature, held a distaff and spun a web which passed through the hand of

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1. Quoted Sayle,(1561) pp.38/9. MS 7.
2. ibid. Also cf. p.14/15.
3. G.Peele, Device, sig.A 2. ["him that rid on a Luzarne before the Pageant apparelled like a Moore."]
4. sig. A 2 v.
5. sig. A 3.
6. cf. p. 18.

Fortune and was wheeled up by Time.[1] The title page is also somewhat fullcr than that of 1585. But there is a great change between Peele's second and Munday's first extant descriptive account. The Triumphs of re-united Britania, 1605, reads like the work of a man who is inventing the form of what he is writing as he goes along. The pamphlet falls into four parts. The first is a fairly lengthy prose history of Britain from the time of Noah till she lost the name of Britain and became England; it is not here shown to ha ve any connection with the pagenatry. The second is a statement that there is a ship called "The Royall Exchange" and a transcript of the speech delivered; the ship is not described. The third contains prose descriptions of two animals, a lion and a camel, carrying Neptune and Amphitrita, and of the pageant itself, which is now seen to be based on the history of Britain given at the beginning of the pamphlet. The last part comprises the speeches delivered in connection with the pageant and the chariot, and by Neptune and Amphitrita; the names of the speakers in the chariot and of Pheme before it are given, but the chariot is nowhere described.

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1. G.Peele, Device, sig. A 4.

This pamphlet contains all the elements of the vital parts of later accounts, but their arrangement is obviously somewhat obscure. The surviving fragment[1] of Camp-Bell, 1609, contains the description of one pageant, which description is followed at once by interpretative speeches in prose from St. Andrew and St. George. In view of Re-united Britania, this is no proof that the whole pamphlet was logically arranged on these lines, but it may have been. If so, the credit for fixing the form of the vital part of the pamphlets also falls to Munday; if not, to Dekker. Dekker is the more plausible choice. As late as 1616, in Chrysanaleia, Munday reverted to the simple method of giving all the prose descriptions first,[2] and then all the speeches.[3] Dekker's Troia-Noua Triumphans, 1612, quite a long pamphlet running into four sheets, is arranged with perfect clarity. It opens with a Dedication to the Lord Mayor, and proceeds with some general remarks on triumphs. The description of each of the first three pageants - the sea-chariot, the throne of virtue, and the forlorn castle - is followed immediately by the relevant speech. An undigested, and undigestible, list of Princes, Dukes, Abbots, and other celebrities who helped the Merchant Taylors' Company in times gone by quite

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1. Sheet B. (4 leaves) only. B.M. C.33.e.7.(23).
2. sig. B/B 4.
3. Sig. B 4v/C 4.

spoils both the appearance and the readability of the description of the House of Fame. As the procession moves on after hearing the speech from the House of Fame an apt song,

Honor, eldest child of Fame,

is sung immediately before the Lord Mayor proceeds into the Guildhall for the banquet, which is not commented on. Instead, Dekker goes on to describe the Conquest of Envy, which involves no new tableaux, that takes place as his lordship proceeds to Saint Paul's, and to give the speech of Justice outside the Lord Mayor's house. Finally, he apologises for not describing the sea shows. Certain points here call for notice. First, as far as can be seen, the dedication to the Lord Mayor is Dekker's innovation, and one that was taken up with enthusiasm by his rivals and successors. With regard to the list of important persons to whom the Merchant Taylors were indebted, one should remember that the Show was devised for them and the pamphlet written for them and that naturally they were more interested in their own history than anyone else was likely to be. For such reasons similar undigested lumps lie on the surface on several Lord Mayor's Shows,[1] and are perfectly in keeping with the writers' intentions.

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1. T. Middleton, The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue, 1622. sig. B 4/B 4v; T. Middleton, The Sunne in Aries, 1621. sig. Bv.

These lists are by no means the only outstanding instances of unassimilated material. Middleton, who followed on the whole Dekker's very sensible method of arranging the pamphlets, took occasion to insert two quite unmistakable and irrelevant attacks on Anthony Munday.[1] That has interest here as a reflection of the author's comparative freedom and autonomy: Middleton was quite shamelessly using his opportunity to blacken his enemy, and his pursuing of this private purpose so blatantly could not but make the Company that paid and commissioned the pamphlet look rather silly. But the earlier city poets, and especially Middleton, also used their freedom in a way more consonant with the dignity of the Company and even so as to suggest, as the post-restoration Shows never do, that their imagination had been fired by the magnificence of the display and the historic nature of the occasion.[2] Middleton, explaining the meaning of a complicated globe that flew open into eight parts, disclosing eight personages, writes as if he is interested in the device and its explanation, that

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1. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, 1613, sig. A3/A3v. and Triumphs of Honor and Vertue, 1622. sig. B.
2. J.Webster, Monuments of Honor, 1624. sig. A3; T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor, 1628. sig. A3/A3v. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, 1613. sig. A3.

because Man s perfection can receiue no constant Attribute in this Life, the Cloude of Frailty, euer and anon shadowing and darkening our brightest Intentions, makes good the Morality of these Cants or Parts, when they fall or close into the full round of a Globe again, showing, that as the Brightest Day ha's his ouercastings; so the best men in this life haue their Imperfections; and worldly Mists oftentimes interpose the cleerest Cogitations, and yet that but for a season, turning in the end like the mounting of this Engine, to their euerlasting Brightnesse, conuerting it selfe to a Canopie of Starres.[1]

Unlike the other developments in the pamphlets from Peele to Heywood, this was in a direction away from formality, not towards it. Hence while the other changes - prose description as well as speeches, description pageant by pageant, dedication - were retained after the Restoration, the idiosyncratic approach, with its occasional private feuds but also its occasional beautiful heightening of feeling, was dropped. Other things were added. One, the inclusion in the pamphlet of a description of the banquet entertainment,[2] is as much a question of content as of form, in so far as there is no reason to suppose that the earlier Shows had banquet entertainments for their bards to describe. Jordan's occasional inclusion of the music for songs[2] is, however, a matter of form, and is moving in the direction of all-inclusiveness:

1. T.Middleton, The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue, [illegible]. sig.C2.
2. He was anticipated by Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, [illegible].

that the whole procedure of the day, from morning to night, should, as far as possible, be described. The crucial step here was taken in 1656[1] when an account of the order of the procession was put into the descriptive pamphlet itself.[1] And that practice was regularly adopted by Tatham and his successors, whereas before them the interest of the writers had been virtually confined to what they themselves had helped to create. Perhaps the final step here was taken when Jordan ~~and Heywood, on occasions,~~ went so far as to describe the reactions of the spectators.[2] The account of the Show - procession, pageants, spectators - was then indeed complete.

The spectators themselves, however, sometimes described their reactions, and their views are indeed worth having. They give the Show a solidity, a setting in contemporary manners and values that neither the factual record of account books nor the interpretation of interested parties in the descriptive pamphlets yields. Machyn, twenty years before Peele's time, and William Smythe, writing in 1575, had been full of admiration for the gorgeous pageants and the splendid

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1. London's Triumph, sig. B1v/B2v.
2. T.Jordan, London inLuster, 1679. p.16. Cf.p.44.

procession, when both were still moderately near their primitive simplicity. The gradually changing temper of spectators' accounts from Machyn, before Peele, to Ned Ward, whose London Spy is contemporary with the later Settle Shows, is an interesting illustration of reversal of taste. The poem

> Upon my Lord Majors day, being put off by reason of the Plague[1]

is certainly satirical, but in a kindly way. It has been suggested[2] that the poem is written on the Plague of 1602/3, on the grounds that the Armada

> was still comparatively recent[2]

and that

> in the first of reigne

refers to James 1, whose coronation passage had to be postponed because of the Plague from November 9, 1603 to March 15, 1604. But the poem seems to sort rather better with 1625 as its date. The Plague fits enough: there are no entries in the Stationers' Register from 29 July, 1625 to 8 November, 1625,[3] because of the Plague. Since James I's funeral was held on 7 May, 1625, the reference to the first year

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1. J.M.,etc. Wit and Drollery, London, 1656.pp.37/9.
2. Songs of the London Prentices and Trades, ed. C.Mackay. pp.28/9.(Percy Soc. Pub. v.i,1850/1.)
3. Ed.Arber, Stationers' Registers, iv, p.107. cf. merely scanty entries in the autumn of 1603. iii, p.101.

of the new king's reign is applicable also to the later date. The crux which makes the later date so much better is the plural use of "Pageants": one pageant only was provided, in both 1602 and 1604, by Munday and Jonson respectively,[1] whereas by 1626 the Shows were fully developed, and being written by Middleton and Munday.

> If you'l but hear me I shall tell,
> A sad mischance that late befell,
> for which the dayes of old,
> In all new Almanacks must mourne,
> And Babes that never must be borne,
> shall weep to hear it told.
>
> For loe the sport of that great day,
> In which the Major hath leave to play,
> and with him all the town;
> His Flag, and drum, and Fife releas'd,
> And he forbid to goe a Feast -
> ing in his Scarlet Gowne,
>
> No Fife must on the Thames be seen,
> To fright the Major, and please the Queen,
> nor any wilde-fire tost.
> Though he suppose the Fleet that late,
> Invaded us in eighty eight,
> o're matched by his Gally foist.
>
> The Pageants, and the painted cost
> Bestowed on them, are all quite lost,
> for now he must not ride:
> Nor shall they sheare the Players tall,
> Being mounted on some mighty Whale,
> swims with him through Cheap side.
>
> Guild-hall now must not entertaine
> The Major, who there would feast his brain,
> with white broth and with Hen:
> Nor shall the Fencers act their Piggs,
> Before the Hinch-boyes which are Giggs,
> whipt out with all the men.

---

1. Cf. p.20.

Nor must he go in state to sweare,
As he was wont at Westminster,
HO Trumpets at the Hall.
Their clamorous voices there would stretch,
As if the Lawyers they would teach,
in their owne Courts to baul.

But what in sooth is pitty most,
Is for their Daughters they have lost,
all joyes for which they pray:
Which scatter palmes on their cheeks,
Which they had prom'd at least three weeks
before against the day.

And 'mongst themselves they much complain,
That this Lord Major in first of reigne,
should doe them so much wrong,
As to suppresse by message sad,
The feast for which they all have had,
Their March-pane dream so long.

Thus for their beauteous sakes have I,
describ'd the daies large History,
'tis true although not witty:
Which is deny'd, for I'de be loath,
To cut my coat, above my cloath,
my Subject is the City.

? "The citie's New Poet's Mock-Shovv"[1] is particularly interesting since it describes one of the Shows of the Interregnum. The poem, initialled by M.T., possibly standing for Matthew Taubman,[2] was entered by Thomason on December 31, 1659, but, since the Lord Mayor of the verses is a Skinner, must have been written at least two years' previously, during the mayoralty of Sir Richard Chiverton,[2] 1657, or that of Sir Robert

1. By M.T. (B.M. 669. f.22(48)).
2. Percy Society Pub. v.3, 1842. "Political Ballads of the Commonwealth," (Additional notes, Unpaginated.)

Tichborn, 1656; the Lord Mayors of 1658 and 1659 were a Clothworker and Grocer respectively. In fact a comparison of the poem with the descriptive pamphlets for 1656 and 1657 makes it clear that the verses describe Londons Trjumph, 1656, devised when Sir Robert Tichborn was Lord Mayor. Certain members of the Artillery Company embarked at the same time as the Lord Mayor, and on the river this section of

> the honourable Societie exercising Arms in Cripplegate Ground ... began an encounter between each party, which continued all the way to Westminster; ... with drums beating, and Trumpets sounding.[1]

Cromwell was watching the Show, and

> When the Barges ... came right against White-Hall, they saluted the Lord Protector[2].

The pageants on land correspond exactly to those described in the verses. The first, preceded by a twelve-foot giant,[3] met the Lord Mayor

> right against the Old Change ... On the Pageant stood two Leopards bestrid by two Moors ...; at the foure Corners sate four Virgins ... their haire disheveld ... This seem'd to be the embleme of a City pensive and forlorn, for want of a Zealous governor: the Moors and Leopards, like evill customs tyrannizing ... an aged man, who sate at the fore part of the Pageant, mantled in a black garment, with a dejected count enance ... at the approach of the Lord Maior ... threw off his mourning weeds, and ... made known the joy he had.[4]

---

1. I.B., Londons Trjumph, 1656. p.10.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. p.13.
4. ibid. p.12.

The next pageant was intended to put

the Spectators in mind how much they ought to esteem of such a Cal ling, as clad the Judges in their Garments of honour, and Princes in their Robes of Majestie, and makes the wealthy Ladies covet Winter, to appear clad in their sable Furrs.[1]

This painfully edifying purpose is much misconstrued

in the verses, but they plainly describe the "great

Wildernesse"[2] that stood "Over against Soper-Lane End"[2],

with Pan,[2] Orpheus[2] and satyrs.[3] ~~Hyperbolically,~~

the simple statement that when the Lord Mayor

was in his House, they [the Artillery Company] saluted him with two Volleys of shot[4]

is expanded to the last nine lines of the poem. The

contrast in tone and manner between the serious prose,

and the burlesque verse, description of this procession

is evident from their opening sentences onwards. The

prose-writer magnifies his office and his subject, for

WEre it now the intention of our discourse to dwell upon so Noble a Theame, I might quickly run beyond the limits of those few sheets to which I am tied, in relating the glory and antiquity of this famous City.[5]

The writer of the verses similarly immediately announces

his intention of being witty at the expense of the

tradesmen and their values, and writes in this style

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1. ibid. p.14.
2. ibid. p.13.
3. ibid. p.14.
4. ibid. p.15.
5. ibid. sig.A3.

throughout the poem. Two further points call for notice: M.T. mentions in passing the behaviour of the crowd, that became increasingly prominent in post-Restoration descriptions; he devotes some attention to the banquet that was to take the place of honour in some of the later descriptive pamphlets.

HEarken good people in Countrey and City,
For I do intend to be very witty,
And Londons Lord Mayor shall be my Ditty.
Of the Skinners-Hall was this man of might,
He walketh by day, and sleepeth by night,
And with his fine Sword the Bakers doth fright.
Scarce had the ruddy morning broke,
When my Lord Mayor out of his dream awoke,...
Then away went he to his Galley-foist,
He rode on a horse, 'cause the weater was moist.
At which the women and children rejoyc't....
The Cripple gate men did notable Feats,
The English man the Spaniard beats,
And all the way merrily piped the VVaights.
The Drums did ratle, the Guns did thunder,
The people did laugh, and the people did wonder,
And all the poor Fish lay trembling under... .
Before and behinde were the Dung-boats all drest,
VVith Flags and Pendants of the very best,
And in them sate the VVise men of the East.
To VVestward they went both Jack and Tony,
To shew the Protector they had yet more mony,
For which he thanked them from a Bellcony... .
But now he's come to the City again,
And home to Dinner he must amain,
VVith Capon-broth to wash his New Chain.
Against the Old Change a Pag'ant did meet him,
And there a Gyant also did greet him,
There was no house in London could fit him.
This Gyant he walked uon Stilts,
VVith his tricks he tickled the peoples milts,
And he had a Sword with fifteen hilts... .
I'th Pageant there were Leopards two,
In them sate two Moors as black as a shooe;
Now guess if the people had nothing to do:

At every corner a Virgin sat,
They lookt each one as sad as a Cat;
For they did mourn for I know not what.
Before there sate an old man in black,
He seem'd as if he something did lack,
Sure he wanted a Cup of my Lord Mayor's Sack.
But when he did see my Lord Mayor come,
He threw off his Cloak, and scratched his Bum,
And out of his throat his flegm did hum.
Quoth he, my Lord, and one 'oth'four and twenty,
To tell you the truth my belly is empty,
To stay so long at Westminster, what meant ye?...
My Lord convinced by Logick so strong,
His Green-men caused to open the throng,
That he the more quickly might pass along:
But as if the devil did ow him a spight,
And resolved to keep him from victuals till night,
At Soaper-lane end behold another sight... .
First Pan with his Horns himself descries,
Next him sate Orpheus on a Seat that did rise,
Behind sate four Satyrs with hairy thighs.
Wilde beasts there was of many a sort,
Most lively done, thank Iermin[1] for't,
But heaven be prais'd they did nobody hurt
Pan did set forth a Cuckoldly Clown,
Of which there are many in London town,
Would I had as many pounds of my own.
There Prentices were set forth by the Satyrs,
Who often do prove themselves no women-haters,
When they run away with their Masters Daughters.
This made my Lord Mayor earnestly gaze,
Alas his Lordship was in an amaze,
When up stept Orpheus, and spoke in this phrase:...
...I know no man, as I am a Sinner,
Fitter than you who are a Skinner,
To be our Cities Wakefield Pinner;
For easiest are by you to be seen,
The Knaves that would get our walls within,
Cloth'd in the Lambs and Foxes skin:
Besides the City is a great Bear,
And Wickedness like a skin doth wear,
I pray you flea it off, good my Lord Mayor... .
More would he have said, but the Cook in hast,
Sent one to ask Mayor why time he did waste,
To hear a fool prate in a Pageant plac't?
With that to this home most nimbly he traces,
Where Criple-gate men stood in their due places,
With Muskets cock't and Leopard faces.

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1. See chap.3. p.192.

> The Mayor in his House they did not refuse,
> To give him many Peals to give 'em their dues,
> They valu'd their Powder as the dirt of their shooes.
> Thus was my Lord Mayor of his Chain of Stat seiz'd,
> Thus were the men of Criple-gate eas'd,
> And thus were the Women and Prentices pleas'd.[1]

Pepys and Evelyn both saw several of Tatham's later Shows. In the year of the Restoration itself Pepys was tolerably polite about the pageants. ~~One man's meat is another man's poison.~~ He watched them from

> one Mr. Isaacson's, a linen draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd.[2]

Evelyn was unusual in being impressed, although, unlike Pepys, he did not put himself to the trouble of special arrangements to witness the pageantry. As he was

> Going to London, my Lord Mayor's show stopped me in Cheapside; one of the pageants represented a great wood, with the royal oak, and history of his Majesty's miraculous escape, at Boscobel.[3]

Evelyn continued to be appreciative in the two following years, when he

> saw the Lord Mayor pass in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of this nature after twenty years[4]

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1. M.T., Thomason Collection, Dec.31, 1659. B.M. 669.f.22. (48)
2. S.Pepys, Diary, ed. H.B. Wheatley and Braybrooke, 1903/4. 10 vols. Oct.29, 1660. v.1, p.270/1.
3. J.Evelyn, Diary and Correspondence, ed. W.Bray, 4 vols. London, 1850/2. Oct.29.1660. v.1., p.342.
4. ibid. Oct.29, 1661. v.1. p.257.

and

> a number of sumptuous pageants, speeches, and verses. I was standing in a house in Cheapside against the place prepared for their Majesties. The Prince and heir of Denmark were there, but not our King.[1]

Pepys devoted the most part of Lord Mayor's Day, 1663,

to the celebrations, and clearly considered it a day ill spent. When, in the morning, there

> was brought home my new velvet cloak, that is, lined with velvet, a good cloth the outside, the first that ever I had in my life[2]

he appears to have considered that the occasion might

be worthy of the honour of his cloak, though in the end

> I thought it would be better to go without it because of the crowde.[2]

The banquet absorbed most of Pepys' attention, both before it started and during its course, when, seated at the Merchant Strangers' table, he noticed that the food was good but the service poor. Second to the banquet, came the ladies, for whom the occasion was evidently as important as it had been in the sixteen-twenties.[3] According to the connoisseur Pepys, who went

> up to the lady's room, and there stayed gazing upon them...though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there; which was very strange.[3]

He goes on to say that he

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1. ibid. Oct.29,1662. v.1.,p.370.
2. Pepys Diary, ed. H.B.Wheatley and Braybrooke ,Oct.29,1663. v.3.,p.320.
3. ibid.v.3.,p.322. Oct.29,1663.

> expected musique, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me,[1]

and then returns to a discussion of the dinner. It is, therefore, not very clear whether he expected there to be music at dinner or in the ladies' chamber. Either way, there appears to have been no developed banquet entertainment. Perhaps Jordan instituted it in 1671. As for the pageantry itself, it is merely discussed in an afterthought:

> Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, Creed and I went away, and took coach and through Cheapside, and there saw the pageants, which were very silly.[1]

The same year - the incident is mentioned by Pepys[2] - the French ambassador was a guest of honour. In his account the emphasis is naturally all on his alleged ungracious reception at the banquet, whence he withdrew to await an apology from the Lord Mayor himself, duly received the next morning. Nevertheless, had the pageants seemed impressive to him, one would have expected him to have written about them to his royal master, especially as

> Le Maître des cérémonies prit le soin de venir me prendre à huit heures, afin de me faire voir le commencement de la cérémonie, qui se fait sur l'eau;

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1. ibid. v.e.,p.322.Oct.29,1663.
2. Pepys Diary, ed. H.B.Wheatley and Braybrooke ,Oct.29,1663. v.3,p.320.

de-là il me conduisit dans la grande rue, où il m'avoit fait préparer une chambre, afin que plus commodement je visse le cavalcade.[1]

The spectators, however, were gradually stealing the principal attention of recorders. Even Jordan on one occasion found the people so interesting that he devoted part of his precious pamphlet to them. The luckier and wealthier were, like Pepys, commonly removed from the mob below. But all of them

> were Shows to one another, the disorder'd People below in the Street was an excellent Scene of confusion to the Spectators above in the Belconies, who like waves of the Sea, did in continual agitation, roul over one anothers necks like Billows in the Ocean, and the Gallantry above were as pleasurable sight to the Spectators below, where hundreds of various defensive postures were screw'd for prevention of the fiery Serpents and Crackers that instantly assaulted the Perukee of the Gallants, and the Merkins of the Madams. In that Scene below, I saw a fellow carried in a throng of Squeezers, upon Men's backs like a Pageant for the space of thirty Yards; in all which time, being somewhat over-sensible of his Elevation, strutted, cock'd his Beaver, and rid in Triumph,'till at last a new provocation of diversion sepa-rating the shoulders of his Supporters, drop'd him in a dismal dirty kennel, whil'st a race of fresh Gamesters ran over him. Like a popular Favourite, who when the Faction dissipates, is left to himself, and laid liable to all misfortunes.[2]

For Ned Ward, who included a description of a Lord Mayor's Show, in the twelfth part of his London Spy, the populace was the chief interest, although the

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1. ibid. v.(10) Pepysiana. App.9. "Extracts from the Correspondence of the Comte de Comminpes, the French Ambassador at Whitehall. With Louis XIV..." p.295/296.
2. T.Jordan, London in Luster, 1679. p.16.

burlesque account of the pageantry reveals vividly the hatred and contempt felt for the City by himself and the people he was writing for. A study of Settle's descriptive pamphlet, The Triumphs of London, 1699, indicates that this Show is the positive against which Ward's satire is directed. The first pageant was fairly simple: on

> the Lyon of England, Passant Or ... sits a Figure representing TRIUMPH, with the Bannor of England ... At the Basis of this Pedastal are seated four Figures, representing Charity, Liberality, Virtue and Honour."[1]

In "A Stately Dome",[2] the second pageant, sat Time, attended by Truth, Humility, Constancy, Prudence, Patience, Temperance and Mercy,[2] while the abstractions Joy, Harmony, Love and Felicity and the goddesses Vertumna and Pomona attended Ceres, the principal figure in the third pageant.[3] The patron saint of the Haberdashers, St. Katherine, followed in

> A Stately Chariot all enrich'd with Emboss'd Work of Silver, ... drawn by two large Indian Goats, Argent, ... On these beasts ride two Persons expressing Victory and Peace.[4]

Finally came the trade pageant, showing

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1. E. Settle, Triumphs of London, 1699. p.3.
2. ibid. p.4.
3. ibid. p.5.
4. ibid. p.6. Such abstractions appeared throughout the whole series of Lord Mayors' Shows. Here may be a link-up with Morality Plays

a very large Stage (on which) are planted, almost all round, several Shops, viz. Milliners, Hosiers, Hatters, Cappers, &c. with Indians Planters and Cutters of Tobacco, &c."[1]

Settle's pamphlet is objective, almost neutral, in tone; Ward's attack on what they were both describing thus stands out specially clearly. Ward was wandering round town with a crony, and

> When I came to the End of Blow-Bladder-Street, I saw such a Crowd before my Eyes, that I could scarce forbear thinking the very Stones of the Street, by the Harmony of their Drums and Trumpets, were [294] Metamorphos'd into Men, Women, and Children; the Balconies were hung with Old Tapstery, and Tur-ky-work Table-Cloths,...which the Mob had soon Pelted into so Dirty a Condition,... that some of them look'd as Nasty, as the Cover-Cloth of a Led-Horse, that had Travel'd from St. Margates to London in the midst of Winter; the Ladies at eve-ry Volley quitting their Post... the Windows of each House, from the Top to the Bottom, being stuff'd with Heads,... Whilst my Friend and I were thus staring at the Spectators, much more than the Show, the Pa-geants were advanc'd within our view, upon which such a Tide of Mob over-flow'd the Place we stood in that...every Man, whether Citizen or Foreigner, strove very ha(r)d for his Freedom. For my own part,... I was so closely Imprisoned between the Bums and Bellies of the Multitude, that I was al-most squeez'd as flat as a Napkin in a Press...[295]...In this Pageant was a Fellow Riding a Cock-Horse upon a Lyon, but with-out either Boots or Spurs;... At the Base of the Pedestal were seated four Figures, Representing, according to my most Ratio-nal Conjecture, the four Principal Vices of the Ci-ty, viz. Fraud, Usury, Seeming Sanctity, and Hipo-crisie: As soon as this was past, the Industrious Rabble, who hate Idleness, had procur'd a Dead Cat... another Pageant approached us, wherein an Old Fellow sat in a Blue Gown, Dress'd up like a Countrey School-Master, only he was Arm'd with a Sythe instead of a Birch-Rod, by which I understood this Figure represented Time, which was design'd, asI suppose, to put the City in mind how apt

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1. ibid. p.7.

they are to abuse the Old Gentleman, and not dispose of him to such Good Uses as the Laws of God, and the Laws of Man require, but Trifle their time away, in those three Vanities, which were Represented by the three Figures under the Dome, viz. Falsehood, Pride and Incontinency, which are chiefly [296] owing to the other four Figures, the Angels, Representing, as I suppose, the City's Imprudence, Impatience, Intemperance, and Inhumanity. When this Pageant was pass'd, the Ingenious Rabble had got a Leathern-Apron, which they ...flung...from one to another...a third Pageant... appear'd to the Sight much Richer than the rest: What think you, says my Friend, of these Em-blems? I think, said I, the chief Figure in it, Represents, as I imagine, a Lady of Pleasure...; which may serve to let the City know that Whores, in this Wicked Age...wear Richer Apparel...than Honest Women; and those three Maids that Attend her as her Servants, signifie the Pride of a Concubine, who will not be Content without three Servants, when the Lawful Wife perhaps must be glad of one; and those four Figures that are plac'd beneath the rest, signifie the sad Calamities that attend the Converstion of Lewd Women, viz. Pox, Poverty, Shame and the Gallows. This Pageant is chiefly Dedicated to the London-Prentices, at the Charge of the Society for Reformation.

In every Interval between Pageant and Pageant the Mob had still a new Project to put on Foot. By this time they had got a piece of Cloth of a Yard or more Square, this they dipt in the Kennel,...then tost it [297] about, it expending it self in the Air, and falling on the Heads of two or three at once, made 'em look like so many Bearers under a Pall, every one Lugging a several way to get if off his Head, of-tentimes falling together by the Ears about pluck-ing off their Cover-Slut...the Fourth Pageant... was a most Stately, Rich, and Noble Chariot, made of Slit-Deal and Paste-Board, and in it a Woman Representing (as I fancy) the Whore of Babylon, drawn by two Goats, signi-fiing her Lust; and upon the Backs of them two Figures Representing Jelousie and Revenge...

The Rabble ... had got a Bullocks-Horn, which they fill'd with Kennel-Water, and pour'd it down Peoples Necks, and into their Pockets...When they had exercis'd this new In-vention about a quarter of an Hour, the Fifth Pa-geant mov'd forward, wherein all sorts of Trades were Represented; a Man Working at a Tobacco Engine, as if he was Cutting of Tobacco, but of-ten did not; a Woman turning of a Wheel, as if she Spun,

but did not; a Boy, as if he was Dressing of an Old Woman's Hat, but was not; which was design'd, as I suppose, to Reflect upon the Frauds and Failings of the City Traders, and show that they often pretend to Do what they Do not, and to Be what they are not; and will Say what they Think not, and will Think what they Say not,(298) and that the World might see there are Cheats in all Trades.

? The Bulky Cits March'd after in a Throng,
? Huzza'd by th' Mob, as Drum'd and Pip'd along...[1]

The final repercussions of the Lord Mayor's Show in literature have given this minor form at least the immortality of disdain: Pope's lines sum up the contempt felt by the dominant aristocratic society of the time for this middle-class festivity. Published twenty years after the last (and unsuccessful) attempt[2] at a Lord Mayor's Show involving any literary element and twenty-six years after the lastperformance[3] of such a Show, the lines give the Show a curiously impressive status and the dignity of an institution - even if only in the empire of Dullness. It has indeed been suggested[4] - as a plausible guess, not as a certainty - that the original conception of the Dunciad, whose action takes place on Lord Mayor's Day, 1719, was to burlesque the choice of a laureate in December, 1718, by the choice of

1. Ned Ward, The London-Spy Compleat, 2 vols. London,1706. v.1.pt.2. p.293/8.
2. E.Settle, The Triumphs of London, 1708.
3. E.Settle, The Triumphs of London, 1702.
4. G.Sherburn, Selections from Alexander Pope, New York, 1929. p.450.Cf. A. Pope, The Dunciad, ed. J.R.Sutherland, London, 1943, p. xiv.

a successor to Settle who died in 1724. If this is so, the "sure successor down from Heywood's days" makes the unfortunate Lord Mayors' Shows the very apotheosis of dullness for a century, but in compensation gives their miserable existence the historical importance of being the condition for the creation of the Dunciad. These hypotheses apart, Pope's lines form a fitting close to this introductory survey, insisting as they do on the subordinate position of the poet in the Show and on the fact (and on the humbleness) of the Show as a literary form. However eminent the writers of the Show may sometimes be, whatever literary connections it may have, however much literary material it may embody, it remains, inevitably, minor. Pope surveys the City on the evening of

> the day, when Tho-d,[1] rich and grave,
> Like Cimon triumph'd both on land and wave,
> (Pomps without guilt, of bloodless swords and maces,
> Glad chains, warm furs, broad banners, and broad faces)
> Now night descending, the proud scene was o'er,
> Yet liv'd, in Settle's numbers, one day more.
> Now May'rs and Shrieves in pleasing slumbers lay,
> And eat in dreams the custard of the day:
> But pensive poets painful vigils keep;
> Sleepless themselves, to give their readers sleep.
> Much to her mind the solemn feast recalls,
> What city-Swans once sung within the walls,
> Much she revolves their arts, their antient praise,
> And sure succession down from Heywood's days.[2]

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1. Sir George Thorold, Lord Mayor, 1720.
2. A. Pope, The Dunciad, Dublin and London, 1728. Bk.1.,p.5.

II. THE ORGANISATION AND FINANCES OF THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

The primary purpose of the Lord Mayor's Show was neither art nor entertainment; it was

> the honor of the Citie & worshipp of this company.[1]

This conception is clearly reflected in the power of the Court of Assistants to arrange the Show and, broadly speaking, to direct both the poet and the artificer, its key workers.

Sometimes the Court of Assistants arranged matters directly. In 1600, the Haberdashers' Court ordered on October 1st

> a faire pageant, a gallie foist, fyre worke Banners & streymers & all other thinge in good sort prouided in a readynes against that daie.[2]

But more often a Court delegated its functions to a committee specially appointed

> to order and direct all the busines concerning the triumph and shewes[3];

and on one occasion a Court suggested that the committee divide into sub-committees.[4] The committee usually included the wardens. Sometimes its appointment appears to have been informal:

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Minutes of the Court of Assistants. 1582/1652. 30 Sept. 158b. f.27.
2. ibid. f. 114 v.
3. ibid. 2 Oct. 1632. f.269.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 776 (Orders of the Court of Assistants. 1668/1691) 7 Oct., 1672. p. 293.

It is thought fitt and ordered by this Court that the m^r & wardens shall contract and agree for Pageant& & shewes to be made against the daie that the next Lord maior shall take his oath.[1]

On other occasions the Court not only nominated members of the Committee but fixed a quorum.

M^r wardens w^th m^r Paynton m^r hickman m^r Clarke m^r Parradyne m^r Isatt m^r Acourt and m^r Rud assistent& and any three of the wardens w^th three of the said Assistent& are appointed by this Court to order and direct all the busynes Concerning the triumph for S^r ffraunc& Iones[2] the **new** Lord maior elect.[3]

The Grocers' Company proceeded in a similar manner, the Court of Assistants usually expecting a report of the progress of the committee appointed for the preparations for

Ornament and Show ag^t the Lord Majo^rs Day.[4]

These committee members were not paid for their exacting services, and the statement that the were

dayly imployed in the buisnes[5]

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Minutes of the Court of Assistants, 1562/1652. 9th July, 1631, f. 265.
2. Sir Francis Jones, Haberdasher, was Lord Mayor in 1620. These elaborate arrangements obtained only when the Lord Mayor was a member of the Company.
3. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Minutes of the Court of Assistants, 1640/1668. 2 Oct. 1620, F.217v. cf. Grocers' Hall MS. 775. (Orders of the Court of Assistants, 1640/1668. 13 Oct. 1659. p. 472.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 775. 12 Oct. 1659. p. 473.
5. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. (Bachelors' Wardens' Accounts) 1623. f.38.

was probably no exaggeration. Indeed, the preparation of the Show must have been a full-time, if temporary, occupation. The expense accounts are accordingly high. The sum accepted by the Drapers' Company in 1638 was modest. Their organisers had

> Paid and spent o^r^selves for divers dinners and meetings whilst wee sate and were employed in y^e^ busines y^e^ some of xv^li^ x^s^ iiij^d^ [1]

The Grocers' Committee's highest expenses came in 1613 in connection with the Triumphs of Truth, a costly entertainment in all respects. They

> Paide for Divers Dynners and potacons made and had both for m^r^ wardens and others Comytties aswell in the hall as elswhare during the tyme of theire sytting about theis busynes the some of 035 12 6 [2]

? The real wastage of ~~publik~~ money is the Haberdashers' Committee's claim for £70. 16. 9.,

> payd for Severall dynners & other Expenses for [the] Wardens of the Livery with some of the Assistants & the Wardens of the Yeomandry who were appointed Comittees when they mett about the Triumph. [3]

The burden of raising the money for the Show fell on the Committee. The Grocers' Court of 15 Oct, 1678, for example, heard a report of the proceedings

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1. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1638) f.89. Cf. £.13.16. (1621) f.29. £.15.8. (1623) f.38. £15.11.4d. (1625/7) f.54. £19.15. (1639) f.100. etc.
2. Grocers' Hall MS 117 (1613) f.8. Cf. £25.16.(1617) f.15v; £31.0.8. (1622) f.22.
3. Haberdashers' Hall MS The Yeomanry accompt (1664). (No comparable expenditure in 1699).

of the Committee appointed for ordering the preparations for the Lord Mayor's Day,

> that they had mada a faire ꝑgresse... and had vsed their deligence & Endeavours for raiseing of moneyes to defray the Charge by the Contribucons of Bachelo^rs in ffoynes and Budge as had bin vsed.[1]

Meaning?

The cost of the seventeenth century Lord Mayor's Show varied enormously. In 1625 the Drapers' Company spent only £191. 5. 4.; but no pageants were exhibited.[2] The usual cost of a Drapers' Show was about £600.[3] On the occasion of their only really expensive Show - that of 1638 for Sir Maurice Abbott - the £900. 3. 6. that was raised included £596. 7. 6. brought forward from the previous year. The Haberdashers' Shows cost rather more, but the small group of Grocers' Shows in the early part of the century outdid both Drapers' and Haberdashers' in expense. The receipts and payments for the splendid Triumphs of Truth of 1613 were £1295. 0. 8. and £1194. 11. 11. respectively, while the Shows of 1617 and 1622, almost exactly budgeted for, cost £882. 18. 11. and £704. 14. 7.[4]

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 776. Orders of Court of Assistants 1668/1692. p.441.
2. cf. 1669 (£271. 13. 6.) and 1654 (£263. 11. 8.)
3. Drapers' Pageants: 1621, £548. 4. 0.; 1623 £629. 9. 2.; 1639 £787. 3. 4.; 1675 £643. 2. 6.; 1676 £484.18. 9.; 1679 £513. 2. 4.; 1684 £513. 3.10.; 1691 £474. Figures from Drapers' Hall MS +178.
4. Grocers' Hall MS 117.

The money was raised by one or more of several methods. Moneys were sometimes carried over from the previous year. The accounts for the Drapers' Show of 1654 state that the wardens had

> received of the last prcedent wardens of the yeomandrye in full of the rest or foote of their Accompte found due vpon the auditing thereof the sum of Cxiiij^{li} iij^{s} ij^{d}.[1]

Such a large surplus was, however, very rare.

Occasionally a Company devoted to the Show the proceeds of a special admission of members into the Livery of the Company. This happened in the Drapers' Company in both 1654 and 1623, when £90 and £370,

> parte of the monies...received for fines of such of the Yeomandry of this Companie as were this yeere admitted into the Livery, not having served as wardens of the Yeomandrie,[2]

were used for the Show.

Both these methods, however, were supplementary to the basic practice of levying a special tax, called a fine, on those nominated to serve in the procession. The seventeenth century Company usually had in all about six hundred members, of whom just over half were freemen of the lowest rank,

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1. Drapers' Hall, MS +178 fo. 130. Cf. ibid. fo.81.(1638)
2. Drapers' Hal, MS +178. fo. 130.(1654).

the yeomanry, or the bachelors. On the occasion of a Show, a certain number of these, usually a quarter or a third, were selected for the duty of serving. In 1620, for example, the Haberdashers' Court of Assistants

> ordered that 90 or 100 batchelors be appointed & Chosen by the said Comittees out of the yeomanry of this Company to serve at the said triumph p^t of them to serve in foynes and other pt in Budge at the discretion of the said Comittees and those in foynes to Contribute towarde the Charge of that triumphe v^{li} a peece and those in Budg fyve markꝙ a peece.[1]

Some freemen refused to serve; in consequence they paid a larger fine to be excused responsibilities. The Drapers' Accounts for 1676, 1679, and 1691, give very full details of the amount and type of fine. In 1676 twenty-three persons paid £3 and served as Rich (foynes) Bachelors; two who had paid and served the previous year, paid £1 and £2 respectively; four paid £6 and one £4 to be excused. Thirty-eight persons paid £1. 10. 0. and served as Budge Bachelors; three who had served the previous year, paid £1; seven paid £3 and two £2 to be excused.[2] Three years later Grinling Gibbons[3] was fined £1. 10. 0. for refusing to serve as a Budge Bachelor.

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1. Haberdashers' Court of Assistants' Minutes. 2 Oct.1620. fo. 217v.
2. Drapers' Hall, MS +178. 1676. fo.149.
3. ibid fo. 153v.

Presumably the variations in the amounts of the fines were in accordance with ability to pay. Nevertheless the sums must have been a considerable burden to many members of the Company; but the final method, a variant on this one, by which some Committees raised money imposed yet a further strain. This was to make a levy on all members of the yeomanry, those selected for service having to pay more than the rest. This seems to have happened in 1664, when the Haberdashers' Court of Assistants instructed that

> the sayd Comittee or any five of them as aforesayd are with the helpe and assistance of the present Wardens of the Yeomandry of this Compa to tax and Assesse such of the yeomandry of this Company as shall not serve att the aforesayd Trivmph as Batchelors or Gentlemen Ushers.[1]

It was certainly the consistent practice of the Grocers' Company, whose Court of Assistants in 1640 ordered that

> euy pson of abilitie that shall contribute for foynes shall pay twenty nobles every one that shall contribute budge shall pay iiij^{li} & every generall Contributor shall pay xl^{s} except Mr. Wardens and the said Comittees shall otherwise order.[2]

Even more impressively, in the accounts for each of the Grocers' Shows included in The Charges of Triumph,

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1. Haberdashers' Court of Assistants' Minutes. 1651/1671. 30 Sept. 1664. fo. 112.
2. Grocers' Hal MS 775. Orders of Ct. of Assistants. p.15.

the receipts are summed up under four heads:

Some of all the Receipts of the Bachelers in ffoynes is as before	0488	00	0
Some of all the Receipts of the Bachelers in Budge is as before	0264	08	0
Some of all the Receipts of the speciall Contributors as before is	0391	16	0
Some of all the Receipts of the generall Contributors as before is	0350	16	0
Soe the whole some of all the sayd Receipts, wherewith the said wardens doe Chardge themselves is one Thowsand two hundred fowerscore and fyftene powndes and eight pence	1295	00	8[1]

The general contributors were the yeomanry, or ordinary freemen, and the special contributors the Livery.

Naturally Company members did not always face this expense with equanimity. The records for the Show of 1604[2] already indicate a recalcitrant attitude on the part of some members. Apart from the fairly large sum of £6. 15. paid, in connection with an apparently rather troublesome collection of moneys,

> for two dynners for those that did assist vs to [cease] the Company and for other meetings about the businesses }[3]

three further special payments proved necessary:

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1. Charges of Triumph, 1 Oct. 1613/ 7 July 1641. Grocers' Hall MS 117. f.3v.
2. Haberdashers' 1604.
3. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt for y^e L: Maio^rs triumph: (1604) f. 10v.

Item paid to Dod my Lord Maio^rs officer for his paines about such as refused to pay their Cesemente } 000. 15. 00.
Item paid to ffermor the sergeant for his paines in the like service } 001. 07. 06.
Item paid to my Lord Maio^rs Clarke for three warrante } 000. 03. 00.[1]

Nor was this discontent confined to, or even specially characteristic of, the Haberdashers' Company. The Drapers' Company's accounts, it is true, indicate little trouble. There is just one relevant entry:

Item paide to the Officer for warninge in M^r Wagstaffe at seuerall tymes } ij^s 2

But the members of the Grocers' Company complained and resisted continually, perhaps, in view of the unusually high expense of their Shows, and the universal fines, with some show of reason. The accounts for every Show between 1613 and 1640 include an entry similar to this one from the accounts for 1613, when £3 was

Paide to William Atkins the Lord Maio^rs officer for paynes by him taken abowt suche brothers of this Company as weare disobedient & refused to pay as they were assessed 003. 00. 0.[3]

The accounts for the Shows found after the Restoration in the Quires of Wardens' Accounts of the

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1. ibid. fo.11r. Cf. ibid.(1664)
2. Drapers' Hall MS +178. (1625) fo.52.
3. Grocers' Hall MS.117. (1613) fo.8v. Cf.ibid.ff.16, 22v, & 27v.

Grocers' Company are briefer, and do not include such details but the proceedings of the Court of Assistants from 1640 onwards show growing anger and disciplinary action on the part of the Government of the Company as the resistance to the Shows started again directly they were resumed. The Show of 1640 cost comparatively little (£547. 2. 4.),[1] since it included no pageants, but nearly six months later several contributors were still refusing to pay:

> This day M^r^ Wardens related to the Co^rte^ the neglect and disobedience of divers brothers of the Company to them and the Comittees that attended for the service of the Lord Maio^r^ some of them in not appearing vpon seuall sommons, others in not Contributing towards the charges expende[d] about the said busines and others in refusing either to beare pte of the charge or pforme the service as hath bin antiently accustomed to the great Contempt of goverm^t^ the breach of antient customes the dishono^r^ of this worthy Company the neglect of their due obedience and the discouragem^t^ of and vexacon of other willing brothers whose purses and psons have bin ready to support the Comp^a^ in all lawfull and necessary Charges and services... for the generall good of the said Company.[2]

The Court decided to deprive the defaulters of Company privileges, but the resistants continued to fight. At the meeting of 26th October 1658, three days before the Show itself, it was reported

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1. ibid. fo.29v.
2. Grocers' Hall MS.775. Orders of Court of Assistants, p.21. (18 Mar. 1641).

to the Court that three stewards

chosen for Lord Majo^rs day had refused y^e office and denyed y^e dutie and performance.[1]

The Court had to take advice of Counsel about the manner of proceeding against them upon this occasion, this

being a new Case & not psidented by any tryall at Lawe in y^e Citti e.[1]

Perhaps the Court of Assistants did not in fact take either of these cases to law till 1662 when the offences stopped after the Wardens reported that

They had caused severall young men of the Company to bee warned before the Lord Majo^r for non-paym^t of their money rated towards the Charge of the Lord Majo^rs day and for non appeareance had prosecuted some of them...which they found most working.[2]

Illegal actions appear to have ceased after this but the Court of Assistants was well aware of the strong feeling against the Show that remained.

The Court of 10th Oct. 1673, spoke of the Company's

Case and Condicon the Clamo^rs that will be raisd & occasiond the Aversnesse of the members of the Comp^a to the Showe & Service the difficulty of raiseing money for the greate Charge y^e dpteyning of the Pag^ts Trophies & ornam^ts & other principall materialls to be made vse of for the Service & the want of a Convenient place for their meeting & Marshalling & drawing vp and refreshm^t.[3]

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1. ibid. p.452. (26 Oct.1658)
2. Grocers' Hal MS 775.p.592 (13 May 1662)
3. Grocers' Hall MS 776.p.310 (10 Oct.1673)

The Lord Mayor of the previous year had been a Grocer, and the financial strain of two Lord Mayors' Shows in succession can have been only partially offset by the Court's suggestion that the previous year's pageants be re-used.[1] Even if the overtly illegal acts ceased, a determined campaign of non-co-operation eventually killed the Show. An example of such non-co-operation is recorded in the Grocers' books in connection with the Show for Sir John Moore, Lord Mayor 1681/2. The Court of Assistants was informed that the four stewards, Messrs. Brooks, Tomlinson, Prichard and Beachamp, appointed for the entertainment of the Livery at the Hall on Lord Mayor's Day, had decided amongst themselves to provide

> Such meane penurious & lowe Enterteynm^t for that day as may not only be of ill president for the future but be a great Reproach to the Company.[2]

They were therefore

> putt in minde by the Court of their duty And howmuch it Concerned them to acquitt themselues vpon this publique occasion As worthy Members & Cittizens for the honour & Reputacon of the Comp^a & good Example of others that might follow for preservacon of loue [loue] and vnity in this fellow^pp^2

The responsibility of the Committee did not end with the financial arrangements. The general

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1. ibid. p.307. (3 Oct.1673)
2. Grocers' Hall MS 776. p.574 (19 Oct.1681)

organization of the Show involved innumerable tasks, most of which devolved in the first instance on the Committee;

The Lord Mayor's inauguration,[1] pontificates the writer of the Grocers' Assistants' Minutes,

> hath bin performed & attended by some publiq Showes with Pagents Batchlors in Liveryes poore men in Gownes Banners Streamers and other Comely Spectacles of Cost and Ornamt for the honor of the Citty and demonstracon of respect to the Lord Major and Majestracy...[A Committee is appointed]... to order and appoint the number & quallitie of ye Pagets to bee prpared for the dayes Solemnitie & all things incident...And to give Order and direct the providing of Banners Streamers Ensignes Gownemen Barges and all other prparacons [&] whatsoever els shall bee Serviceable Gracefull and fitting for the Occasion.[2]

This formidable task was lightened in two ways. A routine was developed that sometimes relieved the Company of making new decisions. Certain contracts for the making of individual items for the Shows might go year after year to the same person. Robert Minors, for example, supplied vast quantities of ribbon for caps and other colourful decoration for four[3] of the six Drapers' Shows between 1669 and 1691, and may well have been the unnamed supplier in the other

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1. See p.1/2.
2. Grocers' Hall MS 775.p.471/2 (21 Sept,1659) cf. Grocers' Hall MS.776, p.438/9. Cf. Haberdashers' Company Minutes 1582/3/1652. fo.217v,fo.248, fo.265, fo.269v/70, fo.293. Cf. Haberdashers' Court of Assistants' Minutes 1651/1671. fo.112, fo.498.
3. Drapers' Hall MS +178.(1669) f.141,(1675) f.145,(1684) f.161, (1691) f.170.

two cases.[1] In the actual provision of pageants the Committee was assisted in coming to decisions by, for instance, the customary display of a trade pageant and the traditional use of the Company's arms. Exotic islands and their equally appropriate armorial camel therefore figured prominently in Grocers' Shows. Even before the Civil War the choice of poet had become largely a matter of routine. Heywood was responsible for all the (extant) Shows of the 1630's except one; and after the War, Tatham and Jordan, once established, probably continued to serve until their deaths, and Settle till the death of the Show. Taubman also had an unbroken run from 1684 to 1689; he may have died soon after the latter year, or the Revolution may have caused his fall. To a lesser extent the artificers were regularly employed. Mr. Jerman was employed by the Haberdashers,[2] in a subordinate capacity, in 1664, and by the Grocers as their principal artificer in 1659[3] and 1661[3], and perhaps on other

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1. ibid. (1676) f. 152, (1679) f.157.
2. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry Account (1664)
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 412.

occasions when the artificer was unnamed. Similarly John ffordham who managed the Drapers' Shows of 1675[1] and 1676[2] in partnership with Thomas Stevenson, and that of 1679[3] in partnership with Charles Williams, was employed by the Grocers' Company[4] two years later. But the most impressive example of continuity on this side of the Show is the record of the talented Christmas family, Gerard and later his sons John and Matthew, who held sway over the provision of pageantry for two decades up to 1639.[5]

The poet and the artificer, once engaged, relieved the Committee of all the detailed work in connection with the pageantry, for a high degree of authority was delegated to them. This is not to suggest that the Committee failed to take seriously its obligation to provide a worthy entertainment. On the contrary, its members considered carefully their decisions on the general character of the pageantry. In 1604, before the Show had expanded to its full size, the Haberdashers' Court laid down

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1. Drapers' Hall MS +178 f.145.
2. ibid. f.151.
3. ibid. f.156.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 415 (1681/2)
5. This is expanded in Chapter 3. pp. 189/90.

that there shalbe a faire Pageant Chariat and a Lion. two Gallies fire worke banners streamers and all other thinge provided in a readines against that daie,[1]

while after the Restoration a Grocers' Committee reported back to the appointing Court of Assistants its decisions and discussions. Its members

advised of a Shipp [three] Gryffns and a Camell and aWildernesse for the Pagtry: an Eagle and the two Gyants being allsoe proposed but left in Suspence.[2]

On occasion the Committee accepted, instead of formulating, an overall plan for the Show, but there is evidence that when they did this its members considered the rival suggestions carefully before making their choice.

In 1617 the Grocers considered projects from no less than three of the leading literary figures of the day. Middleton's plan for Triumphs of Honor and Industry was actually put into execution, but the accounts record sums of £5 and £4 respectively

Payde and given in benevolence to Anthony Monday gent for his paines in drawing a proiect for this busynes w^ch^ was offered to the Comytteeg
Payd and given in benevolence to M^r^ Decker for the like[3]

Although the phrase "in benevolence" suggests that Monday and Decker submitted plans without

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1. Haberdashers' Court of Assistants' Minutes (2 Oct.1604), f.142.
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 776. p.293 (7 Oct. 1672)
3. Grocers' Hall, MS.117. (1617) fo.15v. cf. p.154.

being asked to do so, the substantial sums are a sure indication that the Company encouraged the submission of projects. In 1675, when the Lord Mayor's Show was unpopular with those who had to pay for it, the Drapers' Company, which had never been so lavish in this matter as the Grocers' Company, recorded that they had paid twenty shillings

> to a poore man a Poet that writt some desigme for Pageants[1]

and ten shillings

> Inprimis paid to the Clerke of the Goldsmiths Company for a collecconꝰ of what they did at the last show.[2]

This custom of rewarding practical interest in the Show seems to have benefited the poets more than the artificers, though on one occasion the Haberdashers' Court instructed its accountants to pay £5 to the widow of a man who had asked to take over from Gerard Christmas the making of the pageants.[3]

Even when the necessary choices had been made, and considerable responsibility delegated, the Committee and Court, especially in the Grocers' Company, did not always relax their interest. When

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1. Drapers' Hall MS + 178. (1675). fo.148. Cf. ibid.(1621) f.28. ("Item paid to a straunger that drewe the forme of a Pageant for the service } x 1^{s}")
2. ibid., fo. 145.
3. Haberdashers' Court of Assistants' Minutes, 1632..

their Committee, appointed five days previously, reported progress on 7 October 1672, the Grocers' Court took the opportunity both to fix a maximum expenditure of £200 on pageantry and to recommend, for the better expedition of business, the subdivision of the Committee into sub-committees.[1] The following year the same Company's Committee, finding itself in difficulties, probably financial, since the Company had been called on to provide a Show in two successive years, asked the Court for guidance.[2] In the troubled year 1659, when the Grocer Sir Thomas Alleyn was Lord Major, the Company authorities met three times in five days to consider the Show. On the 13th October, after hearing the carver Jerman's account of his progress, they directed him

> to respitt what may bee wth Conveniency forborne,[3]

At their next meeting, four days later, they discussed cancelling the pageant on account of

> the p^{r}sent interrup$\widetilde{c}$on & vnsetlednes[4]

and instructed the Committee to wait on the Court

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1. Grocers' Hall MS 776. p.293.
2. ibid. p.309/10.
3. Grocers' Company MS.775. p.475 (13 Oct.1659)
4. ibid. p.477. (17 Oct. 1659)

of Aldermen at their sessions in the Guildhall, and enquire whether to proceed.[1] The next day the committee reported the Court of Aldermen proposed to present the Lord Major as usual, whereupon the preparations were restarted.[2]

Nevertheless, in spite of the general decisions and continued supervision of the Company authorities, the responsibility of the poet and artificer, singly or in combination, was very heavy. A clear description of what was held to be included in their task of providing pageants is given several times in the Grocers' accounts.[3] Payment was made

> for orderinge & overseeing and wrytinge of the whole devise for the making of the... [pageants]... W^th^ all the severall beastꝭ that drew them and for all the Carpenter and Carvers worke payntinge guyldinge and garnishinge of them w^th^ all other thinges necessarie for the apparellinge and fyndinge of all the ꝑsonages in the sayd shewes and for all the portage and carriage both by lande and by water for the lighters for the shew by water for a banner of the Lo: Maio^rs^ armes and alsoe in full for the greenemen dyvells and fireworkes w^th^ all thingꝭ therevnto belonginge according to their agreement the some of 220 00 0.[4]

The practice of the Drapers' and Haberdashers' Companies seems to have differed in one point from

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1. ibid. P.477. (17 Oct. 1659)
2. ibid. p.478 (18 Oct.1659)
3. With minor variations (see below) other Companies included these it ems together.
4. Grocers' Hall MS, 117.(1622) f.21. cf.(1613) f.6, (1617) f.14v.

that of the Grocers'. The Grocers' contractors in 1632 had agreed to be responsible for

> the severall beaste that drew the pageants and for the portage and carriage both by lande and by water.

Payment for this particular task was often made separately by the other two Companies, especially before 1640, thus shedding some light, in regard to particular Shows, on the practice despised by Dekker, when he boasted that his dolphins and mermaids

> are not (after the old procreation) begotten of painted cloath, and browne paper, but are liuing beasts, so queintly (like the natural fishes, of disguised purpose to auoyd the trouble and pestering of Porters, who with much noyse and little comlinesse are euery yeare most vnnecessarily imployed.[1]

The evidence of the accounts is that Dekker's efforts were not altogether successful even in his own Show, for the Merchant Taylors' accounts for 1612 record a payment of £10 to

> Porters which carried some pte of the Shewes[2]

Nor was he more successful in an attempt to set a precedent. Eight years before 1612 the Haberdashers had hired an impressive numbers of both horses and

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1. T.Dekker, Troia-Noua, 1612. sig. B.
2. Quoted R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants, p.103.

porters. There were

iiij or Coche horses w^th the furniture to drawe the Chariott

and sixty four porters

for carieing the pageant & other things.[1]

Four years after 1612, Munday produced his Chrysanaleia, that had the fortune to be represented in twelve plates by H. Shaw.[2] These plates suggest the extensive, indeed almost entire, use of porters. All the pageants, including the Chariots, are built onto cubic structures that might just conceivably conceal horses, but would much more appropriately conceal porters. The only pageants for which it is at all likely that horses were used are the last two, and even there the drawings are far from clear. From the back of the penultimate pageant proceeds a pair of chains, while both the back and front of the last structure are similarly adorned. In the latter part of the century it seems that the pageants were made to be carried rather than drawn. Such, at any, is the natural deduction from the customary payment

1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomandry Accompt, 1604. f.10r.
2. A. Munday, Chrysanaleia, represented in twelve plates, by H. Shaw, ed. J.G. Nichols, 1844.

for making... Pageants and carrying of them.[1]

The "sculptures" in Settle's pamphlet Glory's Resurrection, 1698, fail to indicate how the Amphitheatre of Union, the Goldsmiths' Laboratory and the Temple of Honour were transported, though they do indicate that The Chariot of Justice was drawn by horses.

Despite this particular variation, the Drapers' and Haberdashers' practice was in essentials closely similar[2] to that of the Grocers, though the individual headings were rarely summed up so coherently. The material point-that such interesting matters as the costuming of the players or the making of the pageants were farmed out en bloc - remained unchanged. The Drapers' Company in 1621, for example, made a blanket payment of £150 to Middleton and Christmas

for making and setting out of the pageants.[3]

The Haberdashers in 1664 paid the workmen's foreman,

Mr. Cleere,

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1. Drapers' Hall MS + 178. (1691) f.169. cf.(1679) f.156. (1684) f.161.
2. Minor exceptions are noted below.
3. Drapers' Hall MS +178. (1623) f.36. cf. (1621) f.26. (1626) f.52. (1638) f.86. (1639) f.99. (1679) f.156. (1684) f.161. (1691) f.169.

for the Pageants & for makeing the Habits of them y^t^ sate therein and for other things.[1]

In consequence it is not possible to reconstruct the progress of these interesting aspects of the Show during the month of its preparation, for the very reason that the task was delegated and a covering lump sum paid, so that individual payments recorded in Company accounts rarely concern the immediate task of poet and artificer. The detailed accounts presumably kept by Christmas, Cleere, and the rest are not reproduced in Company accounts; the nearest we get is indicated by the post-Restoration Grocers' accounts that customarily record direct or indirect:

paym^t^ of Sewall people for Charges of y^e^ Pag^ts^ 2.

Even the Grocers' Acquittance books[3], to which their accounts from 1685/6 onwards refer for details, are disappointingly incomplete, vague, and unhelpful. As a result the Company records are of only limited application in these important respects. The time allowed for the completion of this formidable delegated programme was usually short. The date of the Show was 29 October, or 30 October if that date fell on a Sunday.

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomandry Accompt, 1664. cf. ibid. 1699.
2. Grocers' Hall MS 412 (1661/2). cf. MSS.414(1672/3), 414, (1673/4), 414(1678/9).
3. Grocers Hall MSS. 572, 573.

The obvious date from which to compute is that of the Court of Assistants' meeting at which the question of the Show was first raised. In 1631 the Court of Assistants of the Haberdashers' Company met on the 9th July to instruct the Wardens to

> contract and agree for Pageantꝯ & shewes to be made against the daie that the next lord maior shall take his oath.[1]

The succeeding year preparations were begun on 22nd June.[2] But these dates are exceptional. One month, not four, was all that was normally allowed for these preparations, as the dates for some of the comparable Court meetings of other years indicate: 30th Sept. 1586, 30th Sept. 1587, 1st Oct. 1600, 2nd Oct. 1604, 2nd Oct. 1620, 20th Oct. 1627[3] saw Haberdashers' Court meetings, while the Grocers' Court of Assistants met for a similar purpose on 30th Sept. 1659,[4] 2nd Oct. 1672, 3rd Oct. 1673.[5]

The contractor's first necessity was a

1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Court of Assistants' Minute Book. 1582/1652. f.265.
2. ibid. f.269v.
3. ibid. ff.26v, 32, 14, 141v, 217v, 248.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 775,pp.471/2.
5. Grocers' Hall MS. 776,p.290/1, p.307/8.

place in which the pageant structures could be built. Leadenhall, built by Simon Eyre, draper, mayor in 1446, for the citizens of London, would seem the obvious choice. Intended for a granary, its structure was ideal, and according to Stow, the building was used in this fashion in his time:

> The use of Leadenhall in my Youth was thus: ...three Sides were reserved (for the most part) to the making and resting of the Pageants shewed at Midsummer in the Watch:...The Lofts above were partly used by the Painters, in working for the decking of Pageants and other Devices, for beautifying of the Watch and Watchmen.[1]

Accordingly, in Leadenhall the pageants were sometimes, perhaps often, made: the Drapers' accounts for the Show of 1639 record that eleven shillings were

> Given y^e^ workemen that made y^e^ Padgeants at Leadenhall.[2]

In the Grocers' account for 1617 two entries indicate that their pageants were constructed there. They paid sixteen shillings

> to dyvers Porters for carrying of things from the Hall and from Gressam howse to leaden hall,[3]

and after the Show payment was made

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1. John Stow, ed. Strype. The Survey of London, 1720. "Limestreet Ward", Bk.2, vol p.86
2. Drapers' Hall MS +178. f.99.
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 117.f.14v.

for carrying away the rubbish at Leadenhall and taking downe the ꝑticons there.[1]

Usually the name of the building in which the pageants were constructed is not mentioned. Since Leadenhall was, at the time of the Midsummer Watches, used for making and storing pageants, it was a suitable place; and pageants may often have been made there after the Lord Mayor's Show replaced the Midsummer Watch.

But certainly they were sometimes constructed elsewhere. The Drapers at least twice used a barn. Garret Christmas was paid £3 in 1621

to paie for ye hyer of a barne in whitecross-streete for ye tyme when ye Pageantꝫ weare makinge;[2]

but at the Drapers' next Show two years later Monday built his pageant in the barn,[3] for hiring which he was paid back fifteen shillings less than Christmas had been, while Christmas was given £1. 10.

for the hiring of boards to make a place for ye making of ye Pageant in &cꝫ.[3]

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1. ibid. f.15.
2. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1621) f.29.
3. ibid. (1623) f.37.

The lean-to shed suggested by this entry would seem to indicate that suitable places were not easy to find. The Haberdashers perhaps hit on a good solution. Their accounts mention neither Leadenhall not the barn: in 1604 they paid £1

> to the Churchwardens of Christchurch for rome to make the pageant & other worke in.[1]

As Christ's Church included the old Grey Friars church and monastery buildings and grounds, its churchwardens would have little difficulty, one would suppose, in selecting an appropriate site.

Workmen were employed in the actual building of the pageant structures, the master carver reserving himself principally for designing, finishing and the highly skilled job of carving the wooden figures that graced them. There is no indication how many workmen there were or how much they were paid, since their hire and discharge would devolve upon the poet and carpenter. In addition to whatever they were paid a bonus, usually of five shillings or seven and sixpence, was customarily

> given to the Pageantmakers to drinke when the wardens went to viewe the worcke when they weare makinge.[2]

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt. (1604) f.9v.
2. Drapers' Hall MS +178. f.27. (1621) Cf. ibid. f.54 (1625), f.87 (1638), f.99 (1639).

Once the pageants were completed the responsibility for them returned from the poet and carver back to the Company. If the huge and expensive structures were finished with time to spare, a man had to be employed to guard them - on one occasion for as long as seven days[1] - until the day before the Show. Then, at night, servants and men hired by the Company came with torches - about a hundred of t hem - to transport the pageants from Leadenhall or wherever they had been made to places convenient for the Show on the morrow.[2] The end of October is not the best time for open-air Shows, particularly those that have to stay out overnight, and the Grocers' Committee once had to pay a shipwright,

routed out late,

> for the vse of a sayle and for hookes, nayles, Cordes, and setting it vpp in the night to keepe the Pageant and other things Drye.[3]

On this, as on other occasions,[4] the pageant stood at the Bell Inn in Carter Lane, whose innkeeper received £3. 13. 4. for his services.[3]

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1. ibid. (1621) f.28.
2. Grocers' Hall MS.117 (1613) f.5.
3. ibid. f.6.
4. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt 1604, f.10[illegible]

The Grocers' accounts state unequivocally that in 1617 one Thomas Hawkins Beadle was paid twelve and ninepence

> for bringing in of the Pageantes after the shewe to the Hall,[1]

and this must have been the procedure in their Shows every year. On arrival at the Hall in 1613, the Ship, which had been an integral part of <u>The Triumphs of Truth</u>, was worked over again by the chief carpenter of the Show, John Grynkin, who rigged and trimmed her afresh with a view to hanging her in the Hall,[2] while a smith provided screws and necessary work in iron.[2] Even a shipwright, perhaps the one previously routed out from bed to provide a sail, was called in to bring his tackle and pulley to draw the ship up.[2] After every Grocers' Show men were paid

> for settinge vpp the beastes [i.e. the camels and griffins] in the pageant Chamber over the Entry in the Hall.[3]

The obvious conclusion is that these objects were re-used in Grocers' Shows. In the case of the animals this may have been fairly common: it is

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1. Grocers' Hall MS.117. (1617) f.15. There is a possible parallel in Haberdashers' Hall MS, <u>The Yeomanry accompt</u>, 1620. f.16v. "Item paid the Porters for bringinge the Pageants from Blackwell hall ooo. o5. o4.
2. Grocers' Hall MS.117 (1613) f.7.
3. Grocers' Hall MS.117 (1622) f.21v. Cf.(1613) f.7, (1617) f.15.

at any rate paral leled by the records of the Iron-mongers' Company for the Show of Sir James Campbell, which indicate that the Company wished to set up in its Hall after the solemnity a sea-lion, two sea-horses and an ostrich.[1] The ship is a more unusual case: it certainly was re-used in the next two Grocers' Shows; in 1617 ~~when~~ Middleton was paid for

> the making of the Pageant of Nations The Iland The Indian chariott The Castle of fame[2]

but only for

> trymming the shipp.[2]

In the old Grocers' Hall there was a room called The (Great) Pageant Chamber: one may suppose that the Grocers' Company sometimes retained the pageant structures there/for use in the next Show. Certainly they sometimes kept pageants somewhere: on one occasion at least they considered using

> the Pag:ts and Utensills belonging to the Hall now for a forthcoming Show.[3]

The extant inventories of the contents of Grocers' Hall[4] go into considerable detail. From them it appears that certain things were kept in the Hall;

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1. J.Nicholl, Account of Ironmongers, p.223.
2. Grocers' Hall MS 117 (1617) f.14v. Cf. ibid.(1622) f.21v.
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 776. p.307.(3 Oct.1673)
4. Appended annually, to 1656, to the Wardens' Accounts. Grocers' Hall MSS. 407-412.

more interesting than the banners and streamers and cushions that were retained in great numbers are the ships whose presence is recorded after 1622. Up to 1627/8 all these things were kept in a room called the Great Chamber, while the Pageant Chamber and Gallery over the Hall, inspite of its obvious identification with the place in which the ship was to be kept according to the Show accounts, is listed as containing only a bench, and, sometimes, a mould of the Companies' arms. In that year the Great Chamber vanished from the records, and the same objects were kept in the Pageant Chamber, certainly the same room, since the Pageant Chamber, and Gallery over the Hall remained, with their contents, as before. Up to 1630 the record is regularly of a small pinnace that was kept, but in that year was added also "one greate shipp",[1] that remained in the Chamber till 1647/8. This record does not altogether square with that of the Bachelor Wardens' accounts, especially in the omission of any mention of the retention of the ship for the Show of 1617. But it certainly bears out the

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 409. p.350.

view that of all the pageants, the ship was the most likely to be retained.

The contract between the poet and artificer on the one hand, and the Company on the other, relieved the Company of responsibility for the actors' costumes. Hencg Company account books, generally, record no details, and any accounts kept by the poets and artificers did not find their way into the Company archives. There are exceptions in the case of the expensive Triumphs of Truth, 1613, when the Grocers' Company allowed twelve shillings

> to one of the players for to buy asmuche Carnation ~~t~~affata to make a new sleeve to a gowne, for that sleeve w^ch ^ [was] pulled of the gowne & [lost] [1]

Munday[2] could not reasonably be expected to provide the expensive material twice. The same year the Company uniquely paid

> the Players for boo⟨k⟩es,[3] gloves and other thinges;[4]

the unspecified "other thinges" can have amounted

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1. ~~ibid. (1613) f.7v.~~ 1. Grocers' Hall MS. 117 (1613) f.7v.
2. See p.136/7.
3. Possibly "boo⟨t⟩es".
4. Groders' Hal MS.117 (1613) f.6v.

to little as the £2. 11. paid covered also

> the singing boye and...m^r Godfrey whoe did sing at sop lane end.[1]

In this same Show Truth had two attendants: Truth's Angel and Zeal. The latter, at the end of the Show, destroyed the forces of Evil. The Grocers ' paid Humphrey Nicholls £2. 10. for his expensive and exciting weapon:

> the fyerworke w^ch was vpon the head of zeale.[2]

In the case of The Triumphs of Truth Middleton's pamphlet supplies to a considerable extent the deficiencies of the Company accounts. Most of his characters wear silk: London crimson[3], Truth's Angel white powdered with stars of gold[4], Zeal flame-coloured[4], Error ash-colour[5], Envy red,

> sutable to the bloudinesse of her manners.[6]

In fact, of those characters whose dress, as distinct from ornaments, is described, only Truth is not in silk. She, according to Zeal, wears

> a close garment of white satin, which makes her appear thin and naked.[6]

If the descriptive verses really describe her appearance, there can have been no such effect: her

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1. Grocers' Hall MS.117.(1613) f.6v.
2. Grocers' Hall MS.117 (1613) f.5.
3. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, 1613, sig.A.4.
4. ibid. sig. B.v.
5. ibid. sig.B.2.
6. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, sig B2.

robe is covered with eagles' eyes, she carries a fan of stars and a sun; she wears on her head a golden crown and at herheart a mirror; while above and below her are doves and serpents.[1]

Even in his description of The Triumphs of Truth Middleton devotes far more attention to the properties and ornaments of his personages than to their clothes. This is more marked in the majority of descriptive pamphlets, including Middleton's own Tryumphs of Honor and Industry, 1617. In Dekker's Troia-Noua Triumphans, 1612, there are full descriptions of properties, but nothing more specific about costumes than that Neptune's

> roabe and mantle...are correspondent to the quality of his person[2]

and that the four winds are

> habilimented to their quality.[3]

His other Show London's Tempe (Ironmongers' 1629) indicates that Tethys wore a

> Taffaty mantle fringed with siluer[4]

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1. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth, sig. B.2.
2. T.Dekker, Troia-Noua, sig A4v. But see J. Squire The Tryumphs of Peace (Haberdashers') 1620. Oceanus has "mantle of sea-green taffaty, lym'd with waves and fishes."
3. ibid. sig. B2.
4. T.Dekker, London's Tempe, sig. Bv.

and, interestingly, that Cupid appeared in a "Changeable silke mantle".[1] The post-Restoration Shows are on the whole more informative, and sometimes they go into as much detail as Jordan's Triumphs of London (Grocers' 1678), which only omits (usually), the materials from which the costumes were made. His description of Justice is a fair example of the information he gives:

> JUSTICE, in a long Crimson Robe, and on it a golden Mantle, fringed with Silver; on her Head a long dishevel'd Hair of a Flaxen colour, on which is a Coronet of Silver; In one hand she holdeth a Sword, in the other Hand a Ballance; her Buskins are Purple, sprinkled with gold Stars, laced and surfled with Gold and Scarlet Ribon; about her Coronet is written this Memento;
> Iniquitatem intermittite & Justitiam facite.
> Ezech.45.9.[2]

But Jordan's omission of most references to material is serious, for it means that he does not present a complete picture. Luckily, although the gap left by the MSS of the Companies is only partially filled by the descriptive pamphlets, there exists an unpublished MS at Antwerp that largely supplements the omission. If the London Lord Mayor's Show was not the direct descendant of the great Ommegang of Antwerp, it was its first cousin, many of the pageants and personages being identical.[3]

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1. ibid. sig. B3.
2. T.Jordan, Triumphs of London, 1678, p.4. cf. Jordan's London's Resurrection, 1671, p.3/4.
3. See pp.232/268.

The MS is an inventory of all the costumes worn in the annual processions of Antwerp,[1] listed 12th December, 1571, in the castle Eeckhoff, where they were preserved. It gives, therefore, a better general idea than any other document of the number and quality and type of the clothes worn in the London Lord Mayor's Show as well as in the Antwerp Ommegang. This is its primary importance, and it is for this reason that the MS appears among the documents collected here. But occasionally too, it throws light on details of the London Shows. Neptune, who appeared frequently in both cities, is infrequently described in London, except for

> the sceptre of Neptune with his wig and crown,[2]

while the Antwerp MS refers to

> the blue silk cloak of Neptune[3].

One of the shows which Antwerp and London had in common was a pyramidjal one representing Antwerp or London as the supreme city. A variation of this Show appears in John Webster's Monuments of Honor, where

> In the highest seate a [female] Person

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1. For an account of this procession see Chapter 4.C.
2. Inventaris van alle de abyten, Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Privilegekamer xi, 6,C. f.27v.
3. ibid. f.25.r.

representing Troy.nouant or the City, [is] in throned in rich Habilaments.[1]

In the Antwerp MS the costume of the maiden of Antwerp is described in detail:

> Item and first a hemmed red satin cloak, with white satin fasteners, with a white satin skirt hemmed with red satin, worn by the maiden of Antwerp.
> Item a neckerchief edged with gold. for the maiden.[2]

Nevertheless the available information, direct or indirect, on the players' costumes, is not sufficient to form the basis for an account that is coherent and specific. The costuming of the procession, on the other hand, was not delegated, but remained directly in the hands of the Company, the records of whose directions remain.

The Master and his wardens and the members of the Companies provided their own dignified costume for Lord Mayor's Day. All wore gowns, faced with a kind of fur - beech-marten or lamb - and hoods. It appears to have been a tradition that the junior members of the Company should wear scarlet hoods: the Court of Assistants of the Haberdashers' Company instructed the Budge Bachelors for the Show of 1604

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1. J.Webster, Monuments of Honor (Merchant Taylors') 1624, sig.B.
2. Inventaris, f.25.

to be

> well apparrelled, and also [with] Crimson satten hoode[1],

while Tatham and Jordan both remark on their scarlet hoods.[2]

> The gentlemen-ushers, chosen like the serving bachelors
>
> out of the Gen[t]ality of this Company,[3]

provided their own velvet coats, but were allowed[4] white staves out of the enormous quantities - in 1617 as many as twenty-four dozen[5] - that the Companies regularly bought and distributed with unusual lack of care. The Grocers' Company, for example, after having bought twenty two dozen of white staves also purchased from the same supplier

> 8 doz[n] of white staves brought to the Hall at severall tymes for the whifflo[rs] tha[t] had lost their staves or neglected to bringe them.[6]

They were also given ornamental ribbon by the Company.[7]

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS, Court of Assistants' Minutes', 2 Oct, 1604. f.141v.
2. J. Tatham, The Royal Oare, 1660,p.2. T.Jordan, The Triumphs of London, (1678) p.1.
3. Grocers' Hall MS 775. p.573 (22 Oct.1661). cf. Haberdashers' Hall MS, Court of Assistants' Minutes. f.498. (5 Oct. 1699).
4. T.Jordan, London's Resurrection, 1671. p.1.
5. Grocers' Hall, MS.117 (1617) f.13v.
6. ibid. (1622) f.20v.
7. Drapers' Hall, MS. +178 (1654) f.131.

More or less permanent employees of the Company were often clothed almost entirely at the Company's expense. Thus the Company's Clerk regularly claimed about £6 as

his ffee for a Gowne[1].

Four pounds eleven shillings went to the beadle

for his paines in y^e^ service gowne and hood[2],

and a similar sum to

the Companies vnder beadle and porter.[2]

In addition to £6. 10.

towardes his livery gowne,[3]

the Grocers' Beadle of the Bachelors received in 1615 twenty-three shillings

More for a Crymson Damaske hood.[3]

Ornamental ribbon was distributed here also. The beadle and porter shared between them in 1654 eight yards of inferior ribbon at ninepence a yard.[4]

Most of the employees regularly engaged by the Company for the Show were dressed at the Company's expense. The bargemaster was one of the most

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1. Haberdashers' Hall, MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1664. Cf. Drapers' Hall, MS. +178. (1638) f.87.
2. Drapers' Hall, MS. +178 (1638) f.89.
3. Grocers' Hall, MS. 117. (1613) f.8v. Cf. ibid. f.16, f.22v, f.29.
4. Drapers' Hall, MS. +178 (1654) f.131. The superior ribbon was 1/- per yard.

splendid figures of the day, wearing a coat made of silk[1] or of blue[2] or "Crimson taffetie"[3] and lined, sometimes, with calico.[3] The watermen were also a bright splash of colour with their waistcoats of "watchett long padua serge",[4] faced with baize,[4] or of "printed dimitie",[3] topped by sarcenet coats[1] and taffeta scarves.[1] The musicians - drummers, fifes, kettledrummers, and trumpeters[5] - made a brave display at the Company's expense. The Haberdashers dressed the musicians in silk in 1604,[6] while the drummers and fifes were regularly paid by the Grocers to appear, most strikingly,

> w^th^ black hatte, white Dublette, blacke hose and white stockinge, & w^th^ scarffes according to the Cullers of the howse.[7]

Occasional musicians were also clothed by the Company. The Grocers, for example, paid six shillings for three quarters of an ell of sarcenett to make a "Cassocke" for a boy who sang in the Lord Mayor's barge on its way to Westminster.[8] Other

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1. Haberdashers' Hall, MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604.f.10v. Cf. Drapers' Hall MS +178 f.130(1654).
2. Drapers' Hall,MS +.178 (1638) f.88.
3. Grocers' Hall,MS 1178 f.27v.(1640).
4. Drapers' Hall, MS +178,f.147.(1675).
5. Grocers' Hall,MS. 117. ff.5v. and 6.
6. Haberdashers' Hall, MS. The Yeomanry Accompt, 1604.f.10v.
7. Grocers' Hall, MS. 117. f.5v. cf. ff. 14, 21.
8. Grocers' Hall,MS. 117 (1613) f.5v.

occasional appendages were treated similarly. Pages sometimes[1] attended the wardens, and when this was arranged the Company provided their clothing, dressing them at least once in

> blew Cassocks, white-stockings and flat Caps.[2]

Not everyone was entirely clothed by the Company, but nearly everybody was distinguished at least by a scarf or ribbons. Enormous quantities of ribbon were bought for distribution not only to those who were not, but also to those who were, clothed by the Company. The Drapers in 1654, for example, paid

> to M^{r} Webb for twoe peices of ribbon for the banner & streamer bearers watermen Trumpet^{rs} Drum̃ers ffencers the watermen for the Citties barge &c℔ xxij^{s} And to Mr Turpin for twenty dozen of ribbon for the same purpose at iiij^{s} the doz^{n} and for 18 yard℔ of xij^{d} ribbon for the Citty Marshall℔ Drum̃ Major &c℔ the sum of iiij^{li} xiiij^{s}.[3]

The

> whifflers[4] in Blew Cotes, painte^{rs} men and others that served by water[5]

cost the Haberdashers' in 1604 £3. 14. for

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1. 1664 (Haberdashers' Hall MS, Yeomanry accompt); 1660: See next note.
2. J. Tatham, The Royal Oake, 1660.
3. Drapers' Hall, MS +178 (1654) f.131.
4. For whifflers' staves see p. 87.
5. Haberdashers' Hall MS, The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.10v.

37 do^{zs} of watchett and white ribbens.[1]

Scarves seem to have been worn by the more important functionaries. The leader of the trumpeters in 1604 was distinguished from his men by the possession of a taffeta scarf.[2] Fencers were important personages, for in addition to giving an entertaining display of skill, they could if necessary keep order; and that was the function of marshalls. Both these groups wore taffeta scarves.[3] Expensive scarves should have been, perhaps were, worn by the poet and artificer, each of whom was allowed twenty-two shillings for this purpose in 1621.[4] The gaiety of the scarves was enhanced by their being of different colours. Jordan, describing the procession of 1678, seems to distinguish between red scarves and crimson ones, and certainly indicates that some were of the Lord Mayor's, and others of the Company's, colours.[5]

The procession always included a large number, usually between one and two hundred, of "poor men", pensioners of the Company.

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1. Haberdashers' Hall, MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604.f.10v.
2. Haberdashers' Hall, MS. Yeomanry accompt, 1604. f.10v.
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.14. cf. f.21.
4. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. f.27½
5. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London, 1678. p.1.

Y^e poore blew gowne men[1]

were the key to the success of the procession, as they carried the huge banners of the Company and King, held the torches to light the pageants and dignitaries, and made a brave opening show as they marched ahead with javelins and staves clearing the way. They, and the sixteen beadles from the four hospitals, Christchurch, Saint Bartholomew's, Bridewell and St. Thomas', were clothed entirely by the Company, and retained their uniform in return for their services. Sometimes they were paid - in 1699 each man received as much as half a crown[2] - but normally only those unfortunate few who every year by some defect of organisation failed to receive their gowns were paid in money; on one occasion the Drapers' Company had to pay

> eleaven poore men of the Company which should have had gownes but hade none.[3]

They received a pound altogether,[3] but usually such men received between half a crown and 7/-.

All these people were dressed mainly in blue wool. Every set of accounts throughout the

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1. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1638) f.89.
2. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt (1699).
3. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1623) f.36. Cf. (1621) f.30.

century records a substantial payment[1] to cloth-workers or drapers for large quantities of such material. The Grocers' Company, for example, paid £91. 13. 0.

> to Iames Gregorye Clothworker for 13 Clothes of azure coller at 7^{li} j^{s} p Clothe.[2]

Seventeen years later they paid exactly three shillings less for

> tenne like Cullored Cloaths for the sd gownes & Coate att vj^{s} iij^{d} the yard.[3]

Sometimes a Company would pay more for better quality: the Drapers' Company in 1638, after having paid £127. 15.

> for 14 azure Cloths at ix^{li} - ij^{s} - vj^{d} . A Cloth to make poore men gownes and Coates,[4]

then

> Bought another azure Cloth of better worth for £11. 5.[4]

But sometimes, too, imperfect cloth was bought and a payment made to

> the Drawer for drawing the holes in the said clothes at vj^{d} a cloth.[5]

The material was then made up into gowns and coats:

> coates for the streamer and banner bearers being about thirty and for the 16 beadles of the fower Hospitalls[6]

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 117 f.134. 11. 2. f.4, £159. 4. 6. f.13. £118. 7. f.20.; Drapers' Hall MS +178, £93. 12. f.26, Haberdashers' Hall The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.9v. £134.14.
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.4.(1613).
3. Grocers' Hall MS.117. (1640) f.26v.
4. Drapers' Hall MS. +178 (1638) f.86.
5. ibid. (1654) f.130. cf. ibid. (1639) f.99.
6. ibid. (1654) f.130.

and gowns for those who carried light staves or javelins.[1] First men were engaged

for cutting out the said gownes & coates after the rate of ij^{d} a peice.[2]

This was the usual rate though once four tailors received £1. 12. O. from the Drapers' Company

for the cutting out of Nyntye gownes and three score Coates[3]

Sometimes tailors[4] made up the clothes, sometimes the makers are not specified; in any case the rate was a shilling[3] or occasionally one and twopence[5] per coat throughout the century.

Then these

Azure Clothes w^{ch} made...gownes w^{ch} were given to soe many poore men of the Company...alsoe made sixteene Coatꝭ as weare given to soe many of the Beadles of y^{e} fower Hospitalls.[6]

But the gowns and coats were finished differently according to the status and functions of the recipient.

The gowns designed for those carrying javelins in the procession were not complete without sleeves of a contrasting colour, generally red, white or yellow. The sleeves in the Grocers' Shows

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1. ibid. (1639) f.99 & 100; (1654) f.130.
2. ibid. (1654) f.130. Cf. ibid. (1639) f.99.
3. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1623) f.37.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1640) f.26v. (1675) f.145 & (1676) Cf. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt(1604) [f.15]
5. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1640) f.26v.
6. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1625) f.45.

were most often red, and in the Drapers' most often yellow, as red and blue, and red and yellow, respectively, tended to be these Companies' colours; but since the Master and Wardens of each Company could at their discretion change their Company's colours, there was no regularity in the matter.[1] For

The Show of 1604 is entered a payment of ~~10 shillings~~ ten pounds

for x peeces of crimson Mockadoes[2]

and another of 16/8[d]

for making the mockado sleeues[2].

These payments can be paralleled in the accounts for the Shows of all three Companies, but the most interesting is the statement in the Grocers' accounts for 1604 that indicates the crucial difference in the costumes of the various poor men:

> Paide to Roger Clarke m?cer for 10 peeces of Crymson Mockadoes to make sleeves for the poore men and to face the Beadles, Streamer & Banner bearers Coates at 19[s] ℔ peece 009 10 0.[3]

Apparently the difference was essentially one of function: coats would be more convenient than gowns for people who were to hold up their arms to carry banners; and would like gowns be made more festive by the addition of a contrasting

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1. These remarks apply, mutatis mutandis, to facings, ribbons, etc.
2. Haberdashers' Hall MS, The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.9v.
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.4. Cf. f.13.

colour, often different from the colour of the sleeves. The Haberdashers' Company

paid for white fustian to face y^e coates[1]

in 1604, 1620 and 1627, and used perpetuano or calico thereafter.[2] The Drapers' Company in 1654 used

yellow bayes to face the coates[3]

but usually favoured

yellowe saye to face the Blewe coates[4].

Generally fourteen or fifteen yards were bought but once the Drapers bought only

fowre yardes and three quarters of yallowe say for y^e facinge of the Beadles sixteene Coates[5]

Often, therefore, the material used for facings was superior to that used for sleeves.

As the gownmen had to be content with mockado, while the beadles invariably received the benefit of any improvements, there would seem to have been some slight difference of status as well as of function.[6]

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1. Cf. previous page. Haberdashers' Hall MS, The Yeomanry accompt, 1620, f.16. Cf. 1627, f.21v. 1604, f.9v.
2. ibid. 1631, f.26r.
3. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1654) f.130.
4. ibid. (1621) f.28. Cf. ff.37, 45, 53, 89.
5. ibid. (1624/5) f.45. Occasionally the Drapers' used yellow material for the gownsmens' sleeves. MS. +178 f.41 (1669), f.147 (1675).
6. cf. p.97 note 3. The streamer bearers in coats had more expensive breakfasts than the gownmen.

There was a similar divergence between the two types of headgear. All three Companies regularly bought large numbers of caps: Mr. Thomas Hinksman, who supplied

> 6 dozen and fower of rownd redd capps w^th^ bands at xxiiij^s^ y^e^ dozen and...4 dozen and 10 of longe redd capps w^th^ ribbands at the like price of xxiiij^s^ the dozen[1]

to the Drapers' Company in 1621 and similar quantities on many other occasions must have made a handsome profit out of the Shows. The colours, as usual, varied; in the later part of the century the gownmen in the Drapers' Shows usually wore blue caps,[2] with

> yellow Callicoe to face the brims and stuffe for stiffening them[2]

But whatever the colours, there were

> long...capps for the banner bearers...and... round caps for the poor gownmen and ribbins for all the...capps.[3]

The Drapers' Company usually provided "watchett and yellow Ribbon".[4]

The last great task of the organizers was to arrange to feed the hundreds of persons in the

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1. Drapers' Hall MS. +178 (1621) f.28.
2. ibid. f.151 (1676). Cf. f.147.
3. Drapers' Hall MS + 178. f.147 (1675)
4. ibid. f.28 (1621).

procession or involved with it. A high proportion of the total money spent, smaller only than that devoted to clothes and to pageantry, went on food. A certain amount was spent before Lord Mayor's day itself. The deliberations of the organising Committee itself

> aswell in the hall as elswhare,[1]

were enlivened by

> Divers Dynners and potacons.[1]

These

> dynners in the tyme of Ceassinge[2]

were treated as officers' expenses. They varied considerably in cost: the Drapers' Committees' allowed claim of £19. 15s.[3] in 1639 was typical of their Company. The Grocers' Committees never again spent the £35. 12. 6d.[4] that went on their food when they were preparing the unusually elaborate Triumphs of Truth, but the Haberdashers' corresponding expenditure, already £47. 11. 11d.[5] in 1632, reached the amazing peak of £70. 16. 9d.[6] in 1664.

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.8.
2. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt, 1620. f.16v.
3. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. (1639) f.100. cf. ibid. ff.38, 54, 132.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.8. cf. 15v, 22, 28v.
5. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt, 1632.
6. ibid. 1664.

If the organising Committee decided to raise money for the Show from fines paid by bachelors specially admitted to the Livery, some small entertainment had to be provided at the admission ceremony. This very small item - less than a pound was paid for wine and biscuits in 1669[1] and 1676[2] - was charged to the Show. Similar light refreshment was required when the Lord Mayor Elect himself had to be translated from a minor to a major Company. In both 1675[3] and 1679[4] it was the Drapers' Company that had to provide

> Sweetemeates and biskett when my Lord Mayor was admitted into the Company.[4]

Small items formed part of the expense for the Show itself. The Lord Mayor and his immediate retinue must have at once spent an enjoyable time and provided an entertainment to anyone near the river when they went in their Barge from London to Westminster in the later part of the century. Up to eighteen bottles[5] of Canary were regularly drunk; in addition there might be "Six quarts of red port"[6]

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1. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. (1669) f.142.
2. ibid. (1676) f.153.
3. ibid. (1675) f.147.
4. ibid. (1679) f.158.
5. Grocers' Hall MS. 415. Wardens' Accounts, 1683/4.
6. Drapers' Hall MS. + 178 (1679) f.158.

and/or plain unspecified wine,[1] or burnt wine.[2]
But the finest spectacle must have been when the onlookers saw the occupants of the barge making full use of

> halfe a pound of tobacco; ...a dozen bottles of Canary and a dozen of french wine.[3]

The Grocers' Company seem to have made a speciality of one of the most entertaining aspects of the Show. Their arms, a shield surmounted by a camel and supported by two Gryffins, almost invariably appeared in their Shows in the shape of figures of these animals, bestrid by negro boys or Indian princes or other exotic personages, who were usually provided with

> Nutmegges, Gynger, almondes in the shell, and sugar loves, wch weare throwen abowt the streetes[4]

by them. This practice of distributing Grocers' goods persisted in the Grocers' post-Restoration Shows: the currants and plums[5] for which a Mr. Middleton was paid £1. 4. 8. in 1681 were probably destined to be scattered, while Jordan, in his account of his Show of 1678, describes

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1. ibid. (1676) f.152.
2. ibid. (1675) f.147.
3. ibid. (1669) f.142.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.6v. Cf. (1617) f.14v. (1622) f.21v.
5. Grocers' Hall MS. 415. Wardens' Accounts, 1681/2.

an hundred persons confusedly scrambling in the dirt for the frail achievement of a bunch of raisins, or a handful of dates, almonds, nutmegs[1].

Most of the money spent on food on the Day, however, went on major meals; and this is not surprising, since all concerned were engaged from before dawn till after dusk.

The Bachelors received back in kind a fair proportion of the money they contributed to the Lord Mayor's Show. The Bachelors of the Drapers' Company after the Restoration assembled at the Hall before the procession started at seven or eight o'clock in order to consume

ffower ribbs and a rumpe of Beefe for Breakefast at the Hall before goeing out[2]

and, with the Livery and Gentlemen Ushers, followed that up with

ffower score dozen of Cakes,[3]

the whole washed down with twenty gallons of burnt claret.[4] The total cost of this formidable meal came to about eight pounds.

Then, when the Lord Mayor and his attendants had departed for Westminster,[2] the Bachelors

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1. T.Jordan, The Triumphs of London (Grocers'), 1678.
2. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1679) f.157. Cf. ff. 145,152,169.
3. ibid. (1676) f.152. Cf. ff. 158, 170.
4. ibid. (1691) f.170.

adjourned to the Heralds' office[1], to the Mitre in Bread Street, the Ship behind Old Fish Street, the Mermaid in Bread Street[2], or to the Paul's Head at Doctor's Commons[3], for a meal variously cal led breakfast[4] and dinner[5] that cost between fourteen and twenty-four pounds.

Finally, the Lord Mayor himself made an allowance of twenty pounds for

> a dinner for all y^{e} Battchello^{rs} and others of y^{e} Company w^{ch} attended y^{e} Lo: Maio^{r} the day hee tooke his oath at Westminster[6].

The Haberdashers' accounts, stating that the dinner was "after the Triumph",[7] imply that it was held on Lord Mayor's Day, while the Grocers' Accounts state definitely that it was held on 13th November, 27th November, and 3rd December, in 1613, 1617 and 1622 respectively.[8] Probably there was a difference of practice between the two Companies, for the

> M^{r} wardens and other Comyttees[9]

attended the Grocers' dinner, which they would not

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1. ibid. (1639) f.100. Cf. Haberdashers' Hall MS The Yeomanry accompt 1631. f.26r.
2. Grocers' Hall MS.117. ff.8, 15v, 22, 28v.
3. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1638) f.89.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117 and Haberdashers' Hall MS The Yeomanry accompt; Drapers' Hall MS + 178 to 1639.
5. Drapers' Hall MS +178 after 1654.
6. ibid. (1638) f.91.
7. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt 1604. f.11r.
8. Grocers' Hall, MS. 117. ff. 8, 15v, 22.
9. ibid. f.22.

have been able to do on Lord Mayor's Day. The MSS give no gastronomical details of these dinners, but their quality is attested by the frequency of the Companies' supplements[1] to the Lord Mayor's already liberal allowance. The most generous contribution from the general fund was made in 1617, when the Grocers' Company gave £39. 9. 3.,

being 14 messes of meate.[2]

The Gentlemen Ushers occupied an anomolous position: on the one hand, as members of the Company, they were of a social standing that allowed them to eat delicacies in the morning at the Hall with the Livery and Bachelors;[3] on the other hand, the Company spent little or no more on their food - in 1623 thirty-nine shillings was

paid to 39 gentlemen vshers for theire dinners[4] - than it did on the poor gownmen's, and hence, except when they supplemented the allowance, its quality must have been coarse if nourishing, like theirs.[5] The term "rich whiflers"[6] applied to them in 1604,

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. ff. 8, 15v, 22; Drapers' Hall MS +178 f.91. Haberdashers' Hall MS The Yeomanry accompt 1604, 1620.
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f. 15v.
3. See p.101.
4. Drapers' Hall MS. + 178, f.37.
5. See p.107.
6. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604. f.10r.

suggests this anomolous position. The contrast between the Gentlemen Ushers and the Bachelors, of whom there were twice as many, appears at its most piquant when two successive items of the Haberdashers' accounts read:

> Item paid for a breakefast for them [i.e. the Bachelors] on ye Lord Maior's day 16 17 10
> Item paid to ye Gent Usshers for their dynners 03 00 00 [1]

One should perhaps remember that the following year the Haberdashers' Company made a special allowance to the Gentlemen Ushers of wine to the value of seven shillings and sixpence.[2] The allowance to the Ushers increased after the Restoration: about five pounds was usually spent on their meal.[3] A curious feature of these later entries is the indifference with which they refer to the meal as

> the dinner or Breakefasts for the Gentlemen Vshers being about 40. in number.[3]

The explanation of this must be either that the Company customarily made an allowance that the Ushers might spend on dinner or breakfast as they pleased, themselves providing the other meal; or that only one meal is referred to, - the one taken when the Lord Mayor was at Westminster in the morning -

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS, The Yeomanry accompt, 1631. f.26r.
2. ibid. 1632. f.31r.
3. Drapers' Hall MS + 178, f.156. Cf. 146 etc.

that might be called either dinner or breakfast. The difficulty with the second explanation is that some Gentlemen Ushers went to Westminster themselves. The only relevant passage leaves the matter ambiguous: The accounts for 1654 record that the then unprecedented sum of £5. 16. was

> paid for the dinner for the Gentlemen vshers... (but it was not intended, neither of right ought, that this charge should be borne by vs, the custome having bin that the companie allowed them only xij^{d} a peice for their breakefast, but those of the Gentlemen vshers that were Stewards for the dinn^{r} expecting that ev^{ry} one would beare a pporcon of the charge made pvisions for a dinn^{r} but when they had dined, & it was demanded that they would contribute to make vpp what was to paie aboue the Companies allowance, they refused, and [therefore] [so] the same was paid by vs, because otherwise the twoe young men w^{ch} were Stewards must haue borne the charge themselues.[1]

This passage does offer a very plausible explanation for the Ushers' increased allowance: from 1654 onwards the Drapers' Company[2] paid rather over five pounds. In fact, the Ushers' action bears all the marks of a strike designed to draw attention to the Ushers' grievance: that, in sharp contrast with the Bachelors, they were allowed only as much as, or at the best little more than, the poor pensioners. And the strike was at least

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1. Drapers' Hall MS +178. f.132.
2. Both Haberdashers' and Grocers' post-Restoration accounts are fairly brief.

partially successful.

Sometimes the Drapers' Company gave the poor men

breakefast on y^e Lo: Maio^rs day in y^e morning,[1] and sometimes they were given dinner

to keepe them w^th in the hall vntill the Companyes goinge to Paules[2]

or, sometimes, after the Restoration, when the service at St. Paul's had been discarded,[3] they ate

whilst they waited and kept together to light home my Lord Mayor &c. in the Evening.[4]

The general tendency, to which there were many exceptions, was to give them dinner before the Restoration, when they were required for the torch-light procession, and to give them breakfast afterwards, unless the Lord Mayor required them to stay late, as in 1679. On such special occasions they received a later meal as well. But they rarely had more than one meal at the expense of the Company; in this respect the Show of 1679 was exceptional.[4]

1. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1639) f. 99. Cf. ibid. ff.131, 142, 146, 152 and Haberdashers' Hall MS, The Yeomanry Accompt, 1627.
2. ibid. (1621) f.27.
3. See p.iv
4. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1679) f.158. For other references to the poor men's dinner see ibid. (1623) f.39; (1625) f.55; (1638) f.88; Grocers' Hall MS.117. (1622) f.20: (1640) f.26v; Haberdashers' MS, The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.9v.

Whenever the Drapers' poor men ate their meal, its substance was the same: their dinner early in the century comprised

> 27 pounds weight of cheese at 3^{d} a pownd vj^{s} ix^{d} for 7 dozen of bread vij^{s} a barrell of beere 8^{s} and for pottꝭ to drinke in 8^{d} [1]

and for their breakfast at the end the Company bought

> bread and Cheese and beere.[2]

The quantity of food provided varied far more than the number of poor men: the 27 pounds of cheese of 1621 became 60 pounds[3] in 1676 while the previous year thirteen shillings[4] was spent on bread against a payment of seven shillings in 1621.[1]

As the avowed purpose of feeding the poor men was not only "their better comfort"[5] but also "keeping of them together"[5] till they should be required again they were fed in a convenient spot like the cellar[6] or the yard[5] of Drapers' Hall.

Such food was very cheap. In 1621, when the Company gave each pensioner fourpence extra, their food[7] cost £1. 17. 6.,[6] while two years later

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1. ibid. (1621) f.27. Cf. ibid.(1623) f.39.
2. ibid. (1679). f.158. Cf. ibid. (1684) f.161,(1654) f.131.
3. ibid. (1676) f.152.
4. ibid. (1675) f.146.
5. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1638) f.88.
6. ibid. (1621) f.27.
7. See above.

the Drapers paid only £1. 2. 9;[1] even the sixty pounds of cheese and the thirteen dozen loaves they enjoyed in 1679 came to but £1. 9. 3.[2]

The Haberdashers' Company spent about sixpence per head - the amount the Drapers' Company gave each pensioner for his dinner on the one occasion when they paid in money[3] - on the poor men's food. In their first Show of the century when they had 144 men, they allowed £3. 12. for their dinners,[4] and in 1627 their records read:

> Item paid for y^e^ Batchelors breakefast 024 09 06
> Item paid for the poores breakefast that day 003 14 00 [5]

The Grocers were the most generous Company, both in the number of meals they provided and in what they paid. Their accounts do not state in detail what they gave their pensioners to eat in the morning, as a lump payment was invariably made for all the breakfasts together,[6] but in the course of two Shows out of four the poor men received a shilling each for dinners, which cost the Grocers

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1. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1623) f.39. Cf. (1638) f.88.
2. ibid. (1676) f.152. See below.
3. ibid. (1679) f.158. See below.
4. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.9v.
5. Haberdashers' Hall MS The Yeomanry accompt, 1627. f.21v. Cf. 1604 f.9v & 11r and 1620 f.16r.
6. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. ff. 8, 15v, 22.

about £6. each time.[1]

The players and children, as well as the professionals, musicians and swordsmen and the like, had also to be fed. A difficulty arises straightway in the case of the players and children. A curious feature of the accounts after the Restoration is the total disappearance from them of all references to children or players. It may be that the poet's or carpenter's pre-Civil-War responsibility

> for the apparelling and fynding of all the ꝑsonages in the sayd shewes[2]

was extended later to full responsibility for their behaviour and well-being throughout the day. Or perhaps, since the pageants were not as a rule required after the banquet in post-Restoration years, their personages had to find their own food individually. The accounts are not illuminating, simply recording payments for

> Pageants and all the seruants attendants and appurtenances whatsoeuer.[3]

Any information, therefore, that the accounts have to supply regarding the children's or players' food refers only to the first half of the century.

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1. ibid. (1622) f.20 (£5. 18. for 118 poor men); (1640) f.26r. (£6. 1. for 121)
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 117 (1617) f.14v.
3. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1675) f.146. cf. ff.151, 156, 161, 169.

Like the poor gown men and Gentlemen Ushers, the children may have had sometimes one and sometimes two meals provided for them. They probably ate twice at the Haberdashers' expense in 1604:

Item paid for a place in Carter lane for the Pageant: and the Childrens breakfast	001. 5. 00.
Item, paid to Newball for setting the pageant and for a roome for the Children to dyne in Blackwell hall	001. 00. 00.
Item paid to the Porters of Blackwell hall	000. 05. 00.[1]

Certainly they did so, on Lord Mayor's Day, 1621, when two different people, an innkeeper and the Keeper of Blackwell Hall, were paid £3. 2. and £2. for their house room and for the children's breakfast and dinner respectively.[2] In the Drapers' Show of 1623 and the Grocers' of 1613 the keeper of Blackwell Hall again received £2.[3] while other payments were made for their breakfasts.[4] It is odd that on all these occasions except one - Richard Watford received 30/- in 1613 - more was paid for their breakfast than for their dinner,

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604. f.10r. Cf. p.113.
2. Drapers' Hall MS + 178 (1621) f.26. and f.29. Cf. ibid. (1623) f.36 and f.37.
3. ibid. (1623) f.36 and Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.6.
4. Drapers' Hall MS. + 178 (1623) f.37. and Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.6v.

but no details of their food are available in either case. At least once a fire was made for them at breakfast time[1]; but the degree of comfort which the children could generally expect is not clear.

On many other occasions[2] the accounts mention only the children's dinner. In 1639 only thirty shillings was paid, otherwise the invariable payment was £2. After 1604 the Haberdashers' accounts do not mention the children's food at all. When they ate, probably the

place in Carter lane for the Pageant[3]

was the Bell Inn, where it also stood in 1613.[4] More problematically, since the children's breakfast in 1604[3] and their dinner always[5] was related to the care of the pageants, perhaps in 1613 as in 1604 the children breakfasted where the pageant stood, at the Bell in Carter Lane. In that case Richard Watford would be the innkeeper: the same innkeeper - almost certainly of the Bell - in whose house the children dined in 1621.[6]

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1. ibid. (1623) f.27 .
2. Drapers' Hall MS. +178 (1625) f.53, (1638) f.86, (1639) f.100; Grocers' Hall MS +117. (1617) f.14v. (1622) f.21v.
3. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604. f.10r.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.6.
5. See below
6. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1621) f.29.

There is no information as to where they ate in 1623: the entry runs simply:

> Item paid to Mr. Middleton for the making of a Breakfast and fyer for the Children of ye Pageants } iij.li l

Since the poets and pageant-makers were responsible for the finding clothing and general welfare of their actors, mostly children, it is somewhat remarkable that their names do not appear more often in some such context. That the children were held to be necessary nuisances who required an adult to see that they kept out of mischief is shown by the constant recurrance of the statement that George Dunne, the keeper of Blackwell Hall, was paid

> for his howse roome and trouble and Chardge he had wth the Children of Pageantz in dyninge at his howse.[2]

One would have thought that the man under whom the children worked would have been ideal.

The children always ate their dinners under the supervision of the keeper of Blackwell Hall. There was a reason for this arrangement: in fact, any other place would have been so awkward as to be almost impossible. The children and

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1. ibid. (1623) f.37.
2. Drapers' Hall MS +178 (1623) f.26. Cf. ff. 36, 53, 88, 100.

actors, highlights of the Show, had to remain in their positions as long as the Lord Mayor's presence kept the procession together; they had to be back in their positions when the Lord Mayor came out from the Banquet in the Guildhall. Blackwell Hall, adjacent to the Guildhall, was ideal from this point of view. Secondly, when the children and players were on the pageants, and knew themselves to be the centre of attraction, they would naturally repel the attempts of any unauthorised persons to climb onto or in any way damage the structures; but when they were at dinner the expensive wagons were left unguarded. Blackwell Hall had carrying business of its own, and so again was ideal. That is why after almost every entry concerning the children's dinner is a further entry:

Item paid to the Porters of Blackwell hall 000. 05. 00[1]

or more lucidly:

Paide to the Porters of Blackwellhall in benevolence for lookeing to the Pageant & other shewes Whilest the Children and Players Weare at Dynner 000. 10. 0.[2]

The fact that entries such as the first of these two occur where no meals payment is made

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The Yeomanry accompt, 1604, f.10r.
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.6. Cf. ff. 14v, 21v.

suggests that the meal was nevertheless provided.[1]

Little care seems to have been lavished on the welfare of the professional entertainers. The musicians, greenmen and the like were not often mentioned in the accounts; they may have been fed with the poor men or usually not at all. In a generous mood the Drapers' Company gave two shillings and sixpence to

> the Trumpetors towardȩ theire dinner[2]

in 1623, and once, after the Restoration, all the musicians — King's Trumpets, Kettle Drummers, other trumpeters and ordinary drummers and fifes -- were given food.[3] Similarly the Grocers' in 1613

> paide for the Dynners & breakfast of 10 fyermen or greenemen.[4]

The final impression created by a study of the MS. sources for the Lord Mayors' Shows is one of extreme complexity. In a production of this kind a thousand and one details have to be attended to, and the accounts cover fully even the minutiae of some aspects of the Show. It is, however, unfortunate that these sources have so little light to throw on interesting delegated matters like the employment and costuming of the players.

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS., The Yeomanry accompt, 1627, f.21v.
2. Drapers' Hall MS + 178. (1623) f.37.
3. Ibid. (1676) f.151. Cf. (1691) f.169.
4. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. (1613) f.5.

111. POETS AND ARTIFICERS.

The men who devised the schemes for the pageants of the Lord Mayors' Shows before the Civil War, and wrote the speeches and songs illustrating them, were writers of varying talent and reputation, but they included dramatists whose plays are still highly valued: Ben Jonson, Webster, Middleton, Dekker, and Peele. John Taylor the Water Poet, on the other hand, is a minor celebrity, while ~~if Heywood's work is impressive, it is so for its bulk~~ Heywood and Dekker are pleasant but not major writers. Anthony Munday, playwright, storyteller, pamphleteer, tract-writer, is, despite his high rating in Palladis Tamia,[1] more remarkable for versatility, than for his ability to manage a plot. Thomas Nelson,[2] printer and ballad-writer, whose undisputed works concern politics rather than entertainment, is almost unknown, and John Squire quite so. The only bond between these men is their common authorship of the device and verses for a Lord Mayor's Show. They are not even all dramatists, though most are. Certainly it is quite impossible to assert that their common characteristic is mediocrity or dullness. But the situation

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1. F. Meres, Palladis Tamia. 1598. p.283v.
2. G. Stronach, Article on Nelson in D.N.B.

after the recommencement of the Shows during the Protectorship is quite different. Elkanah Settle and Thomas Jordan have the best claims to attention. No-one would today rate highly Settle's artistic merit, nor did his contemporaries any longer respect him by the time he came to write in honour of the Lord Mayors of London. It was already incomprehensible to them that they had once bracketed his name with Dryden's. Jordan's claim is not a matter of reputation, but of merit. A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie, 1660, is representative, as it includes verse of all kinds and short dramatic and semi-dramatic entertainments. It demonstrates convincingly his technical versatility, his liveliness, and his receptiveness to contemporary impressions. Nevertheless it is at its best only minor work. John Tatham and Matthew Taubman were writers of very slight calibre. Edmund Gayton was primarily not a writer at all, and I.B., the author of the Show of 1656, is unknown. The artistic quality of the writers for the Lord Mayrs' Shows plainly deteriorated after the middle of the century.

The artificers of the Shows were, with one exception before the Civil War, and none after, men of limited reputation or none. Sometimes they were craftsmen connected with the City or its Companies. John Grynkin, who was responsible at least for the Shows of 1604[1], 1610[2], and 1613[3], was probably a member of two Companies. The Grocers' Company's accounts refer to him as a "Paynterstеyner"[3], and there was a John Grynkin who was already a master carpenter in 1586, when one Adam Ramshaw was ordered

> to deliver unto John Grinkin two new Joystes wch he promiseth to paye and deliver accordinglie[4].

Edward German, the artificer for the series of increasingly elaborate Shows that ended the long gap after 1639, came of a family of master carpenters, and himself followed that profession.[5] Indeed, his employment by the City of London as a carpenter[5] may have led the individual Companies to choose him to build their pageantry. Certainly the accounts of the Grocers' Company, his employers in 1659 and 1661, suggest this connection when they refer to him as

1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt, 1604.
2. R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants, p.89/90.
3. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.6v.
4. Bower Marsh, ed. Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, 1913, 6vols. v.6, p.226.
5. J.C. Whitebrook, ed. London Citizens in 1651. Undated. p.19.

> one of ye Citty Surveyors[1].

Neither his more regular employment by the City nor the special fees he earned by his work for the Lord Mayor's Show kept him from poverty. At the end of his life he was so poor that his funeral service in Cripplegate in 1668 lacked a sermon.[2] Extreme poverty was by no means unusual among the poets and artificers of the Lord Mayors' Shows.[3]

Sometimes the Company's choice fell on men of more ambitious occupation than plain carpentering. But this itself had its disadvantages. If Thomas Stevenson

> painted landscape in oil, figures and architecture in distemper[4],

he would be well acquainted with his subject from the point of view of the onlooker, and able to give the pageants, once constructed, verisimilitude. The obvious analogy, noted, not specifically in this connection, in Walpole's Vertue, is scene-painting,

> even in which kind...Stevenson's works grew despised[4].

Perhaps Stevenson, like Settle, declined into working for the Lord Mayors' Shows. But ability to paint scenes or pageants is no guarantee of skill in constructing them, and the Companies might reason-

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1. Grocers' Hall MS. 412, 1659/60.
2. J.C. Whitebrook, ed. London Citizens in 1651. p.19.
3. See p. 145.
4. Vertue, Anecdotes of Painting in England, ed. Walpole, ed. Dallaway. 1849. 3vols. v.2.p.517.

ably be expected to employ a second craftsman to remedy Stevenson's deficiency. The documents, as far as they go, bear out this deduction: in both 1675 and 1676 the Drapers' Company employed[1] in addition a John ffordham, perhaps as the actual master carpenter, while Stevenson supervised the work for its final effect. This division of labour, however, remains hypothetical in the absence of any information about John ffordham.

Enquiries about certain other artificers - Francis Tipslie[2], Charles Williams[3], George Holmes[4] - equally yielded no result. The meagre information available about Richard Hayes, who worked both alone[5] and in conjunction with George Holmes[6], is unilluminating: He was a designer or engraver at London[7]. The obvious corollary of this paucity of record is that the constructional side of the mayoral pageantry was entrusted to men of most undistinguished talents.

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1. Drapers' Hall MS.#178. ff.146 & 151.
2. 1620;1631 & 1632 painting only. Hab. Hall MS Yeomanry accompt.
3. 1679,1684. Drapers' Hall MS.+178. ff.156 & 164.
4. There was a man of the same name living in London and connected with the City at the right time. A George Homes, born in 1662 at Skipton, became a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and was deputy keeper of the records in the Tower of London from 1695 for nearly sixty years.(Article in D.N.B.). By the sixteen-nineties the Lord Mayors' Shows were considered to be in bad taste and it seems unlikely that a man of sufficient reputation to be elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, who had besides a reputable position, would stoop thus.
5. Hab. Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt. 1699.
6. 1691. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. f.167.
7. E. Benezit; Dictionnaire...des Peintres, Librairie Gründ, France, 1948.

To this depressing general picture Garret Christmas is a notable exception. His various employments indicate a versatility valuable to an artificer for the Lord Mayors' pageantry. Primarily he was a carver or sculptor, working in both wood and stone. For over twenty years he was carver to the Navy,[1] and therefore accustomed to carving figures and symbols in wood. If, as he claimed, the Lord Admiral, as his employer, had owed him £400 for the last sixteen of those years,[1] the position must have been lucrative. To amass such a credit in four years was no mean achievment. His standing as a sculptor is attested by his employment on the front of Northampton house, which he decorated with rich scrolls of architectural carving and an open parapet worked into letters.[2] But he was an architect as well as an ornamental craftsman, and the two aspects of his art were combined when he designed Aldersgate, and cut on it the bas-relief of James I on horseback.[2] All this suggests that the Companies chose excellently when they regularly appointed him between 1619 and 1633 to build the mayoral pageants. Certainly his colleagues the poets thought so.[3] Garret Christmas educated

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1. CSPD 1633/4. p. 521.
2. Vertue, Anecdotes of Painting, v.1. p.249 and note 2.
3. T. Middleton, The Svnne in Aries, 1621. sig.B4v; T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor, 1628. sig.C2v; T. Heywood, Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo, 1632 . Reprinted Theatre Miscellany, Luttrell Society, 1953. p.45. For further details see p.189/90

two of his sons, John and Matthias, to follow his craft, and tried before his death to elicit a guarantee of facilities for their profitable exercise of it. He petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty that he himself

> being aged, sick, and with a charge of ten children,...his two sons before mentioned may be jointly admitted into his place.[1]

By 1633 his influence with the City Companies was no doubt considerable, and it would be natural for him similarly to exercise it in favour of his two sons, who were in fact responsible for the mayoral pageantry displayed in four[2] of the five Shows presented before political troubles caused their temporary cessation. Despite the regularity with which the Christmas family were employed, however, there was no post which they, as individuals, held by appointment from year to year, until death or dismissal. This is plainly indicated by the financial encouragement given by the Ironmongers' Company to a rival to the Christmas brothers: Robert Norman shared with a rival poet £1, in reward for a project for pageants unsuccessfully submitted by them in 1636.[3] And never before or after the Christmas family were there artificers of ability and reputation who in fact were regularly employed: that

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1.CSPD 1633/4. p.521. 2.1635(J.Nicholl,Some Account of...Ironmongers.1866).1637(T.Heywood,Londini Speculum). 1638 & 1639(Drapers' MS. +178,ff.86,99.
3.J.Nicholl, Some Account,p.223.

is to say, there was no question of a post of city artificer.

Much more information is available about the poets of the Lord Mayors' Shows, but it would nevertheless be rash to generalize about their suitability, the probable causes of their employment, or their position when employed. Each case demands individual consideration.

The few extant printed descriptions of the early Shows cluster together, in 1585, 1590, and 1591. It is likely that there was also, once, a printed description of the Show of 1588, for in that year

> Richard Jones /Entred for his Copie vppon Condicon that it maye be lycenced, ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable MARTYN Calthrop lorde maiour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588 GEORGE PEELE the Authour. vjd [1]

Three of these Shows were written by Peele, who may have been responsible for the Show of 1595 as well, since a Skinners' minute of that year refers to

> M^r Pele his sute for the Pageante.[2]

But since Thomas Nelson's Fishmongers' Show of 1590 interrupts the series of Peele's Shows, it would seem that employment was irregular, and it is not safe to assume that Peele had a hand in Shows when there is no record of it.

It is impossible to say why the Fishmongers chose Nelson in 1590, but one may suggest reasons for

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1. E.Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554/1640. 5 vols. London. 1875/94 v.2. p.504.
2. Malone Society, Collections, Vol 3. 1954. p.56.

the employment of George Peele. Peele came of a family of merchants: it is probable that Sir John Piel, Lord Mayor of London in 1372, was a remote ancestor[1], and his father, James, officially a Salter, and in fact a well-known book-keeper, worked as Clerk to Christ's Hospital from 1562 till his death in 1585, the year in which George, a Salter as his father had been, wrote his first Lord Mayor's Show. Christ's Hospital, in which George Peele lived between the ages of six and fourteen and whose school he presumably attended, had been founded only with the assistance of the wealthy merchants and was administered by a board chosen from the aldermen of the City. The City Fathers, therefore, probably looked with some interest on this intelligent youngster born in their own class and brought up in one of their most cherished projects. These ties with the merchant class in general and with a major City Company in particular are supplemented by personal ties, through his father, with some of the City dignitaries primarily concerned. James Peele had himself written the devices for the inauguration of the Ironmonger Lord Mayors Sir Christopher Draper in 1566[3] and Sir Alexander Avenon in 1569.[3]

1.D.H.Horne, Life and Minor Works of George Peele, Yale Univ. Press, 1952.p. In this section I am deeply indebted to this volume.

3.J.Nicholl, Some Account, pp.88 & 98.

Such links as these were no doubt particularly important in getting Peele chosen in the first place. Once he had a foothold, his future employment would depend largely on himself, though his connections might help. Actually, these connections are quite remarkably close in the case of two of the three Lord Mayors for whom Peele worked. Wolstan Dixi, the first of the three and Lord Mayor in 1585, and William Webbe the last, Lord Mayor in 1591, were both of them sons-in-law of the Sir Christopher Draper for whose inauguration Peele's father had written verses in 1566. Further, both were Governors of Christ's Hospital. In 1585, Peele's father, now old and ill, was still Clerk of Christ's Hospital and therefore in touch with its Governor the Lord Mayor Elect for whose father-in-law he had himself composed the mayoral pageant. Old James may have put Wolstan Dixi in mind of his son quite deliberately, or he may have done so unconsciously. One way or the other, however, it seems a probable hypothesis: there are two many coincidences otherwise. In 1591 Peele senior had been dead for nearly six years; Webbe's Governorship of Christ's Hospital would not, therefore, bring the same immediacy of contact with its old student George Peele. But there was in his case another minor contact in addition: he was a Salter's Lord Mayor, and Peele was a member of that Company.[1]

1. DH. Horne, Life and Minor Works of George Peele. p. 72

Peele was an excellent choice on the part of the Company authorities. Whether or not they knew that he had considerable experience in preparing festivities when they appointed him, his work in this respect was very relevant to his competence. Peele had proceeded M.A. in 1579, but continued to spend a great deal of time at Oxford during the next few years. In 1583 he was prominently involved in the festivities in honour of Albertus Alasco[1]: these included singers serenading Albertus from the East gate of Oxford, possibly, in festal tradition, decorated; a fireworks display in Christchurch Quadrangle; and two plays, one of which, Dido, was a spectacle rather than a tragedy.[2] It included

> a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to a high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and snew an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, maruellous, & abundant[3].

Peele's prominence in the organization of this predominantly pageantic entertainment is attested by the fact that of £86.18.2d spent on the plays and fireworks Peele was allotted £20.[1] If the City Fathers were aware of Peele's connection with these festivities, his work then may have given him the oversight of the mayoral pageants that he is alleged to have had.[4]

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1. D.H.Horne, Life and Minor Works, pp.57/64.
2. Boas, University Drama, 1914 .p.181/3.
3. Holinshed, Chronicles, 1586. v.3.p.1355.
4. Merrie Conceited Iests: of George Peele, London, 1627.p.7.

Between Peele's Descensus Astraeae in 1591 and Munday's Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania,1605, no descriptive pamphlets are extant, though two are known to have existed. The author of the second of these made on this occasion, so far as can be ascertained, his sole contribution to public civic pageantry, while the Shows of the other continued for a further twenty years. So it is convenient to consider the Show of 1604 first. The Haberdashers' Accounts for that year carry two successive items showing that £12 was

> paid to Beniamyn Johnson for his device,and speech for the Children

and that £1 was

> paid for printing the booke of the device[1].

This pamphlet has not been found.

Nothing could have been more natural in 1604 than that the Haberdashers' Company should invite Jonson to prepare their pageant's device and speech, for Jonson had recently won great acclaim for his part in a still more magnificent and celebrated public spectacle. The festivities to welcome to London King James 1 and Vl, originally planned to take place on St. James' day, 1603, were postponed on account of the plague till March

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1.Hab. Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt,1604.

15th, 1604, when James rode through the City before he opened Parliament. Of the seven pageants in the City, two[1] were devised by the Italians and Dutch resident in London, and the remaining five by the architect Stephen Harrison. Jonson wrote the speeches for the first and last of these, as well as the speech in the Strand[2], while Dekker wrote the speeches for the remaining three[1]. Jonson was responsible for the spoken verses for the Arch in which, he said,

> the very Site, Fabricke, Strength, Policie, Dignitie and Affections of the Cittie were all laide downe to life[3],

and his evocation of the City may well have pleased the Companies, who were all there

> according to their de-grees: The first beginning at the vpper end of Saint Marks Lane, and the last reaching aboue the Conduit in Fleetstreete[4].

Jonson's scholarly Genius Urbis bids London now to

> reare
> Thy forehead high, and on it striue to weare
> Thy choisest Gems; Teach thy steepe Towres to rise
> Higher with people: Set with sparkling eies
> Thy spacious windowes; and in euery streete,
> Let thronging Ioy, Loue, and Amazement meete.
> Cleaue all the ayre with showtes, and let the cry
> Strike through as long, and vniuersally
> As Thunder; For, thou now art blist to see
> That sight, for which thou didst beginne to bee.
> When Brutus plough first gaue thee infant bounds,
> And I, thy GENIVS walk't auspicious rounds
> In euery furrow: Then did I forelooke,
> And saw this day mark't white in Clotho's booke.[5]

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1. T. Dekker, The Magnificent Entertainment, 1604, includes Dekker's part in full, and also detailed descriptions of all the pageants, but not Jonson's speeches.
2. B. Jonson, His Part of King James his...Entertainment, 1604.
3. ibid. sig. B2.
4. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment, sig. B3v.
5. B. Jonson, His Part, sig. B3.

Dekker's part, that was generally of less dominating impressiveness than Jonson's, failed to involve specific praise of London; and to crown all his best and very charming song,

Troynouant is now no more a Citie[1],

was misconstrued by "wresting comment"[2] as an insult to London. In view of the importance attached by all, including the civic dignitaries, to James's entry, Jonson, having outshone his colleague and competitor there, was left without a rival for the lesser honour of preparing the Lord Mayor's triumphal entry into London.

The view[3] that Jonson performed the duties of poet to the Lord Mayor's Show as city chronologer is quite mistaken. The reverse is more probably the case: that Jonson, like Middleton, was granted that not very onerous and reasonably profitable post for sevices rendered to the City. In Jonson's case, these services included, three years after the royal and civic Shows, a masque-like entertainment presented for the pleasure of the King when he dined at Merchant Taylors' Hall on July 16, 1607.[4] But his part in the public Shows of 1604 must have weighed much more heavily in his favour. In any case Jonson was not

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1. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment, sig. F2/F2v.
2. ibid. sig. F2v/F3.
3. C.W. Wallace, The Evolution of the English Drama. Berlin, 1912. p. 18.
4. Strype's Stow's Survey, v. 2 bk. 5, p. 190 Quoted Gifford, Works of Ben Jonson, 1816. 9vols. v.1, p. xci.

appointed city chronologer till 1628[1], and he certainly did not write any Lord Mayors' Shows thereafter.

Although it is plain that the Haberdashers' Company had good reason to invite Jonson to undertake their 1604 pageantry, it is not quite so clear why Jonson accepted the commission, for he had committed himself to contempt of the activity in a satiric passage in His Case is Alterd, performed 1598/9:

> Onion...Shall I request your name sir?
> Anto. My name is Antonio Balladino.
> Oni. Balladino? you are not Pageant poet to the City of Millaine sir, are you.
> Anto. I supply the place sir: when worse cannot be had sir.[1]

Perhaps Jonson, fresh from his success in the royal entry, and at the beginning of his career as masque-writer-in-chief, was becoming genuinely interested in spectacle, or perhaps he saw no reason in his past against accepting a sizeable fee for a comparatively unexacting task.

The extract quoted above is also the principal evidence cited by those[2] who hold that Munday wrote most of the Shows during the period of scanty records between 1591 and 1605. Certainly the attack on Munday would be completely pointless if Munday had not been involved in some pageantic work, but equally certainly

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1. B. Jonson, His Case is Alterd, 1609. sig. A2v.
2. F. Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants, p.26, accepts this view and cites without detail Gifford's edition of Jonson. The reference is perhaps to v.6.p.325: "for many years, [Munday] had the chief hand in devising and directing those pageants which amused and edified the apprentices on festivals and holidays."

he was not the sole author of Shows during those years. The record of 1604 alone is enough to throw doubt on the hypothesis of a solid blodk of Pageants cetainly contrived by Munday, and in addition there is the record of 1595 suggesting Peele's authorship that year. To be more definite is impossible.

The first Show with which Munday's name is definitely connected is that for 1602. The Merchant Taylors' Company's accounts for that year record the payment to him of thirty shillings and thirty pounds respectively

> for prynting the booke of speeches in the pageant
>
> and
>
> for provyding apparell for all the Children in the pageant, ship, Lyon and Camell[1]

On the basis of this record, it has been categorically asserted that Munday was the author of this Show[2], except for a speech probably written by William Haynes.[3] The point seems to me to remain only probable. The Merchant Taylors' Company, it is true, was not accustomed to pay separately for the writing of the speeches and the printing of

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1.R.T.D.Sayle,Lord Mayors' Pageants,p.65.
2.ibid.p.71;Malone Society,Collections Vol.3.p.58.
3.Malone Society,Collections Vol.3.pp.58 & 59.Evidence also cited Sayle,Lord Mayors' Pageants,p.71/2.

the pamphlet. In 1605, when we know that Munday wrote the speeches because the descriptive pamphlet survives, the entry was much the same; he was paid

> for printing y^e bookes of the speeches in the Pageant and the other shewes[1].

But the difference in payment is too substantial to be ignored. In 1605 he received £6, against thirty shillings in 1602. Thirty shillings was precisely the sum paid by the Haberdashers in 1604 for having the books printed[2], while a separate payment was made for the writing of them.[2] There is precedent for the name of the author, known from other sources, not being mentioned in the accounts. Peele is mentioned neither in 1585[3] nor in 1588[4], and the source of the ambiguity in 1595 is that he is mentioned not in connection with authorship but in connection with his suit for the pageant.[5] Nor do the records for 1590 and 1591, that mention the pageantry, name Peele or Nelson.[6] Further, Munday was not infrequently paid for services other than authorship.[7] In these circumstances, it is possible that the low payment of thirty shillings was for no

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1. R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p.78.
2. Hab. Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt, 1604.
3. Malone Society, Collections Volume 3. p.54.
4. ibid. p.55. 5. ibid. p.56. 6. ibid. note p.xlv.
7. Sayle, p.65(1602); ibid. p.78(1605). Hab. Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt. (1604)

more than the entry indicated: "for prynting the bookꝙ of speeches".

Between 1605 and 1609, in both of which years Munday wrote pamphlets that are preserved, there is a further gap that the notes preserved among the Company records do nothing to fill. The pamphlet for 1610 is also missing, and the Merchant Taylors' records show that £126, then a further sum of £80, were paid to Grynkin and Munday together for the general organisation of the pageants.[1] From 1611 to 1624 inclusive there are no gaps, either in the presentation of Shows or in the preservation of pamphlets. The chief interest of the period is the bitter rivalry between Munday and the pushing newcomer, Thomas Middleton, though there were years when neither wrote the Show. According to the records of the Merchant Taylors' Company, the Show of 1612 was on the literary side a joint effort by Thomas Dekker and "M^{r} Hemyng"[2], though only the former's name appears on the title page of Troia-Noua Triumphans. John Squire, who wrote Tes Irenes Trophaea for the Haberdashers in 1620, seems otherwise totally unknown. In the Haberdashers' accounts for the Show he is called "M^{r} Squire", and a William Squire is also paid

1. R.T.S. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants, p. 89/90.
2. ibid. p. 103.

a sum of money, for unspecified services[1]. It is possible that the Squires were related, and that one or the other of them was a member of the Haberdashers' Company or a connection in a position to obtain employment by influence or to make recommendations. But the evidence is of the slightest.

With these two exceptions all the Shows from 1611 to 1623 were written by Munday and/or Middleton. Even though the two were sometimes yoked together in the same Show[2], there was never any question of an amicable partnership, but from the first evidence of extreme animosity, especially on Middleton's part. This, perhaps, was natural, since it must have been difficult to dislodge Munday from the solid position he had established by 1613, the date of Middleton's Triumphs of Truth. The immediate cause, like the definite date, of the Lord Mayor's choice of Munday to write his Show, is obscure. Munday's connections with the City, however, were both old and various, and would certainly, on general grounds, give him a strong claim to be considered for the honour of praising the Lord Mayor. He himself, addressing the Bishop of

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1.Hab. Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt.1620.
2.1613(Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.6.). 1621(Drapers' Hall MS +178.f.22.).

London in 1618, claims to have spent

> sixe and twenty yeeres, in sundrie imployments for the Cities seruice[1].

In fact his relations with the City of London go back to the fifteen-eighties. As the child of a Draper Munday was

> a Free-borne Son of this Honorable City[2],

and in 1585 he formally took up his freedom while avowing his literary, not commercial, calling.

> Mondaye Anthony filius Monday Christoferi per patrimonium. By Creplegate a Poet[3]

is named among those admitted to the Drapers' Company. How far Munday's membership of the Drapers' Company influenced his employment as pageant-poet by that and other Companies is incapable of assessment. If we accept that whatever else he may have forgotten, he would not forget his first Lord Mayor's Show when writing in 1618, then his membership of the Drapers' Company was certainly not influential in gaining him his first preferment from his own Company. Between 1588, when Sir Martin Calthrop employed Peele, though Draper Munday's profession was already registered on their books as that of poet, and 1614, when Sir Thomas Hughes did indeed employ Munday, but by no means for the first

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1. A.Munday, Dedic. to continuation of Stow's Survey, 1618. sig.A.
2. ibid.
3. Freedom List of Drapers' Company, 1585.

time, there were no Draper Lord Mayors. Even so, his status of "Citizen and Draper", as he signed nearly all his extant descriptive pamphlets, may have made some contribution to his success. His employment in 1614 itself, in fact, came after a gap of two years during which both Dekker and Middleton had shown their mettle in not unworthy Shows. The Drapers employed him again, alone, the next year, and in conjunction with Middleton in 1621 and 1623[1]. But their action three years later in dropping him in favour of his rival demonstrates that membership of their Company was not of overriding importance.

Munday had other connections with the City going back to the 'eighties. The City authorities made a sharp distinction between the pageantry they paid for and the drama they disliked. And Munday, intermittently lapsing into playwrighting or not, was probably the author, back in 1580, of A Ringinge Retraite Couragiouslie sounded, wherein Plaies and Players are fytlie Confounded[2], and of A Seconde and Thirde blaste of Retrait from plaies and Theaters[3], which bore on its title page the arms of the Corporation of London. Further services to the true faith were rendered by Munday in his activities as re-

1. Drapers' Hall MS. +178. ff.22 & 33.
2. Lost. Title from S.R. Nov. 10th, 1580.
3. S.R. Oct. 18th, 1580. The piece was reprinted by W.C. Hazlitt, English Drama and Stage. London. 1869. pp.97/154. Now lost. For case for Munday's authorship of this and A Ringinge Retraite see C. Turner, Anthony Mundy, University of California Publications in English. vol.2, no.1. 1928. p.40.

cusant hunter and by his anti-Roman pamphlets, especially A Discouerie of Edmund Campion, 1582. More positively, he entered the field of instruction in practical Christian piety with Ant. Monday, his godly exercise for Christian families, containing an order of praiers for Morning and Euening, with a little Catechisme, betweene the man & his wife. 1586.[1] He also edited Two godly and learned Sermons, made by that fa-mous and woorthy instrument in Gods church, M. Iohn Caluin. All this must have endeared him to the Puritan Corporation - at the time. But even in the fifteen- nineties, and of course more so in the sixteen-hundreds, that time was beginning to be distant.

For whatever reason he was employed, Munday took advantage of his position to build up extra-literary connections with the Lord Mayor's Show. It has been suggested[2] that at one point during the first decade of the new century Munday was following his father's trade and keeping a draper's shop. The evidence of the accounts of the Companies is consistent with this

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1. Title taken from Andrew Maunsell, The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes. London. 1595. Not in S.R. Reprinted by W.C. Hazlitt, Handbook. 1867. Now lost.
2. C. Turner, Anthony Mundy. p.143.

notion. Munday provided the clothing for the children and actors for nearly all the Shows during the first two decades of the century.[1] He also sometimes undertook other small tasks. In 1613 itself it was Munday, not Middleton, who defrayed the charges levied by the Innkeeper at the Bell for allowing the pageant to stand there overnight.[2]

In view of Munday's strongly entrenched position, it is perhaps surprising that Middleton got a foothold at all. Unlike Peele, Munday, Dekker, and later Webster, he had no civic connections to recommend him, and whereas Dekker, Munday and Heywood were men of an outlook sympathetic to the City, Middleton was not. Jonson, too, had had this disadvantage, but it was of little importance when weighed against his success in the King's entertainment. Middleton's contribution to that royal entry, however handsomely acknowledged by Dekker[3], was limited to the speech of Zeale at the Conduit in Fleet Street. In any case, the recommending value of work done in 1604 was very small in 1613. Yet this was Middleton's sole incursion into pageantry prior to the Show in honour of Sir Thomas Middleton in 1613. There seems

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1. Malone Society, Collections, vol. 3. pp. 59, 68, 73, 82, 96. Grocers' Hall MS. 117.f.6.
2. Grocers' Hall MS. 117. f.6.
3. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainments sig. I.

to be no explanation of Middleton's employment in terms of reason or personal influence.

Probably Middleton owed his good fortune to the Jacobean liking for a play on words. On Michaelmas Day, 1613, the ambitious and energetic Myddleton brothers from Denbigh reached the summit of their respective careers. Thomas, Grocer, was elected Lord Mayor of London and on the same day presided over the celebration of the entrance of the New River water into London, a public-spirited project that had occupied, impoverished and made famous his brother Hugh, Goldsmith, for the four preceding years. Such achievments demanded special commemoration, and someone, possibly Hugh Myddleton, who by his will left a small fund for the benefit of needy Goldsmiths "of his name, kindred, and country",[1] hit upon the idea that the glories of the Myddletons would be most fittingly sung by someone who was at least of the same name. So Thomas Middleton the dramatist wrote an entertainment presented at the opening of the New River as well as The Triumphs of Truth for Lord Mayor's Day, and published them together.[2]

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1. Gordon Goodwin , Article on Hugh Myddleton in D.N.B. There is also an article on Thomas Myddleton by Charles Welch.
2. B.M.C. 33.e.34. ("The Triumphs of Truth./... /Shewing also his Lordships Entertainement vpon Mi-/chaelmas day last, at that most Famous and Admired Worke of the Running Streame ... 1613")

Once having been engaged by the City, Middleton pushed forward with the energy of his namesakes. At first there were no more Lord Mayors' Shows. He produced Shows at Merchant Taylors' Hall for the Christmas festivities of 1613/14, and in 1620/1 was responsible for no less than ten Honorable Entertainments, Compos'de for the Service of this Noble Cittie.[1] For the three years following 1613, Middleton was elbowed out of the Lord Mayor's Show by Munday. Even in 1613, his success had been severely qualified. The Triumphs of Truth is commonly ascribed to Middleton because his name appears on the title page; but the accounts for the Show reveal that he merely executed Munday's ideas: Munday was paid "for the devyse of the Pageant and other shewes"[2], and it was he who hired and clothed all the actors[2] except the

> Graue Foeminine Shape...representing London[3],

and arranged

> for the Portage and Carryage both by land and by water[2].

Partly frustrated ambition, as well as the determination to call attention to what he had achieved no doubt caused Middleton's aggressive claim that his Show was

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1. Unique copy in Huntingdon Library, Cal. Reprint published by the Malone Society, 1952.
2. Grocers' Hall MS, 117. f.6.
3. T. Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. sig. A4.

Directed, Written, and redeem'd into Forme, from the Ignorance of some former times, and their Common Writer[1].

He went on to make a barefaced appeal to the bourgeois Companies to get value for their money when he complained that

> it would heartily grieue any vnderstanding spirit to behold many times so glorious a fire in bounty and goodnesse offering to match it selfe with freezing Art, sitting in darknesse, with the candle out, looking like the picture of Blacke Mondy.[2]

The Grocers' Company took no offence at the inevitably implied reflections on the Companies' own good taste, for they gave Middleton a great triumph on the occasion of their next Show. In 1613 he had barely broken in to the twin aspects of Show preparation: the device and speeches, and the floats and properties. Now, four years later, he emerged in sole general charge.[3] A disappointment suffered the next year when the Ironmongers passed over him in favour of his rival caused Middleton to continue the pamphlet war with Munday by sniping at him in The Trivmphs of Loue and Antiquity in 1619,[4] though in fact Munday's star was setting. Never again after 1618 was Munday solely responsible for even the literary aspects of a Show. The immediate result of Middleton's defacing semi-official publications with a vulgar quarrel may have been the Haberdashers' discontinuance of them both in favour of the unknown

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1.T.Middleton,Triumphs of Truth. Title page. 2.ibid.sig.A3/A3v.
3.Grocers' Hall MS.117. f.14v.
4.T.Middleton,The Trivmphs of Loue and Antiquity.1619.sig.A4.

John Squire. Whether this is so or not, the Drapers' Company in 1621 returned to the old expedient of employing the two together. They and Garrett Christmas were paid jointly for the preparation of the Show.[1] The only reason for thinking Munday second to Middleton is that the Drapers' Company bought scarves to be worn in the procession for Christmas and Middleton but not for the poor old Draper, Anthony Munday. But at least the Drapers did continue to employ their member, whereas the Grocers allowed him no part in Middleton's Show of 1622, The Trivmphs of Honor and Vertue . How wise they were, from the point of view of protecting their own dignity, was shown by the absurd climax the well-intentioned impartiality of the Drapers allowed the rivalry to reach the next year. Even they specifically separated[2] the tasks assigned to the two: Middleton was responsible to them for the land pageants and Munday for "an Argoe"[2]. But their precautions were insufficient. Not one, but two mutually exclusive descriptive pamphlets appeared! Middleton, complacently congratulating himself that of late, that is since his primacy was assured, the City's honour had been more faithfully illustrated;[3]

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1. Drapers' Hall MS.+178.f.22. 2. ibid.f.33.
3. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Integrity, 1623.

produced The Triumphs of Integrity ,with an account of a Mount Royal inhabited by shepherd Emperors like, correctly but incongruously, Tamburlaine, a chariot of famous Drapers, and two elaborate pieces of machinery. Although a ship, in Drapers' Shows often appropriately Jason's Argo, frequently appeared in Lord Mayors' Shows, there is no mention of one in this descriptive pamphlet. On the other hand The Trivmphs of the Golden Fleece,appearing not, as was customary in his Shows, over Munday's initial, A.M., but over his capitalized name A. MVNDY, contained nothing but a description of his Argo. The Drapers' payment of one shilling to

M^r Mondayes man for bringing the bookes[1]

suggests that his was the authorized version. If this is so, perhaps Middleton had declined to communicate details of his devices for his rival's pen. The rival was now, however, completely defeated, even in the estimation of his own Company, for when there was next a Drapers' Lord Mayor, three years later, only Middleton was employed. Even Middleton's death the same year did not bring favour back to Munday, who lived on,to watch others act as pageant poets to the City of London, for seven more years.

The immediate effect of the unedifying

1.Drapers' Hall MS+178.f. 36.

spectacle may have been to Middleton's disadvantage, too. The Merchant Taylors' Company had not had a Lord Mayor since 1612, and had therefore escaped involvement in the unbecoming rivalry. It is possible that the exhibition of spite, unbridled jealousy, and inability to co-operate determined the Merchant Taylors to make a new start with a different poet, and one, moreover, who was a member of their own Company.[1]

Equally plausible, however, is the view that Webster owed his fee to the good offices of Middleton. The verses prefixed to The Dvtchesse of Malfy, published in the previous year, 1623, demonstrate Middleton's admiration for Webster, and in 1624 it was very difficult for Middleton to risk being as accessible as preparing the Lord Mayor's Show required. It was in this year that Middleton engaged in a game of hide-and-seek with the Privy Council, that objected to the political allegory of A Game at Chesse. As late as August 30th Middleton's son appeared before the Council in lieu of his father, and their lordships continued to enquire into the matter. A contemporary view[2] was that Middleton was

> committed to prison, where hee lay some Tyme, and at last got oute upon this petition presented to King James [.There follow six verses.]

If this tradition is correct, Middleton would be

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1. J. Webster, Monuments of Honor. 1624. Title page.
2. C.H. Herford, Article on T. Middleton, dramatist, in D.N.B.

in no advantageous position for preparing the Show himself; but on the other hand, the sympathies of the Merchant Taylors could be relied on, and they may well have appointed a friend on the recommendation of the author of the Protestant play.

Certainly Middleton's scrape with the Privy Council did him no harm in the estimation of the City Corporation. In the summer of 1620, in direct recognition of his work for London, Middleton had been appointed city chronologer, in which office he was required

> to collect and set down all memorable acts of this city and occurences thereof[1].

Unlike Jonson, he gave great satisfaction: his original salary of ten marks was raised to £10 only ten weeks after his appointment. He held the office for the remaining six years of his life, receiving various freedoms and presents in money ranging from twenty marks to twenty pounds. As with Jonson, Middleton's work for the Lord Mayors' Shows was quite distinct from his tasks as city chronologer[2]. In the one case he was employed by and for the individual Company; in the other by and for the Corporation as a whole. After 1620 as before, the Companies' accounts make it quite clear that Middleton's mayoral pageantry was paid

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1. Remembrancia, Analytical Index to. Ed. W.H. & H.C. Overall. London. 1878. p. 305 note.
2. Contrast C.W. Wallace, Evolution of English Drama. p. 18.

for by them, as individual Companies.[1]

After the death of this stormy petrel, a certain stability in the employment of pageant poets begins to be discernible, though the process by which a man, once appointed, continued to write the Lord Mayors' Shows until death or some other major disaster overtook him, was not finally completed till after the Restoration.

Dekker's Troia-noua Triumphans of 1612 had been followed by a gap of fifteen years - a gap not of his seeking, since from the King's Bench prison he submitted an unsuccessful project for the Show of 1617.[2] Now, however, he was engaged for three successive years. The descriptive pamphlets survive for the Shows of 1628 and 1629. In 1627 the Lord Mayor was a Haberdasher, Sir Hugh Hamersley; but although the Haberdashers' Yeomanry accompt for the year makes it clear that there was a Show, it does not name the author. The evidence for Dekker's authorship is in his own tract Warres,Warres,Warres ,1628, dedicated to Hamersley, in which he claims that

> It was some ioy to me, to bee imployed in the Praesentation of your Triumphs on the day of your Lordships Inauguration.[3]

1.Drapers' Hall MS+178.ff.26,36,52. Grocers' Hall MS.117.f.21v.
2.Grocers' Hall MS.117.f.15v.
3.T.Dekker,Warres,Warres,Warres.1628.sig.A2v/A3. J.P.Collier, A Bibliographical and Critical Account.2 vols.1865. v.1. p.210/1 recorded Dekker's authorship and this source, which he had seen. The unique copy is in the Huntingdon Library. There is a photostat in the Bodleian.

Dekker's original engagement in 1612 is appreciably easier to explain than the Companies' revived interest in him after such a lapse of time. Troia-Noua Triumphans was a Merchant-Taylors' Show, and near Dekker's name on the title page of the British Museum copy a contemporary[1] hand has written the word "Marchantailer". Dekker's membership of the Company has not been proved, but there is a parallel with Webster, whose one Lord Mayor's Show was for the same Company, membership of which he himself affirmed on his title page.[2] Further, in 1612 the memory of Dekker's work for King James coronation procession, if faded, was not quite gone; and although his part had not been so outstanding as Jonson's, it had been adequate, and even more substantial.[3] In 1627 none of this applied. Perhaps the Company's choice in that year was determined by the fact that in Dekker, and in Dekker alone, they had a poet with an outlook sympathetic to the City, connections with it via the Merchant Taylors' Company, previous experience of writing a successful Lord Mayor's Show, and innocence, if partly enforced, of the unseemly quarrels that had impaired the dignity of the City for the entire period separating Dekker's first from his second Show.

1.i.e. with Dekker.
2.cf. p.143.
3.See T.Dekker, The Magnificent Entertainment.

It is doubtful if the predominantly Puritan Companies undertook an examination of Dekker's plays before engaging him. If they did so they no doubt discovered that Dekker was sufficiently old-fashioned to use tableaux and spectacular effects to a comparatively high degree. Whether the Companies considered the point or not, it certainly made for Dekker's success in the guise of pageant poet.

Old Fortunatus was highly suitable for festivities: it was printed in 1600 as having been

> plaied before the Queenes Maiestie this Christmas[1].

and is as much an entertainment as a play. The abstract and symbolic figures do not remain dignified and still as was for the most part required by the Show, but the pageant tradition is plainly the source of the figures, properties, and ewen the action of such a passage as this:

> Enter a Gardiner, a Smith, a Monke, a Shepheard all crown'd, a Nimph with a Globe, another with Fortunes wheele, then Fortune: After her fowre Kings with broken Crownes and Scepters, chained in siluer Giues and led by her. The fore-most come out singing. Fortune takes her Chaire, the Kings lying at her feete, shee treading on them as shee goes vp.[2]

Vice and Virtue, as Envy and Arete, are the centre of interest in Troia-Noua Triumphans; in Old Fortunatus they appear dressed as emblematically as in the Show:

> Enter vice with a gilded face, and hornes on her head: her garments long, painted before with siluer

1. T. Dekker, The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus. 1600. Title page.
2. ibid. sig. A3v/A4.

halfe moones, increasing by litle and litle, till they came to the full: in the midst of the in Capitall letters this written: CRESCIT EVNDO: her garment painted behind with fooles faces & diuels heads: and vnderneath it in the midst this written, Ha,Ha,He: she and others wearing gilded visards, and attirde like deuils, bring out a faire tree of Gold with apples on it: after her comes Vertue, a coxecombe on her head, all in white before, and this written about the middle: Sibi sapit: her attire behind painted with Crownes, & Laurell garlands, stuck full of starres, held out by hands, thrust out of bright cloudes, and among them thus written: Dominabitur astris: Shee and other Nimphes all in white with coxecombs on their heads, bring a tree with greene and withered leaues mingled together, and litle fruit on it: after her Fortune, one bearing her Wheele, another her Globe"[1].

One of Dekker's prose works, The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London: Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through the seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, is written in the form of a pageant that is to last a week, from the first day's triumph to the seventh and last day's triumph.

For Dekker London, the

beawtifullest daugh-ter of two vnited Monarchies[2],

meant principally the citizens and apprentices and the classes below these. Exaltation of the tradesman could hardly go further than Simon Eyre's view that a nobleman is not good enough for a Grocer's daughter, whom he instructs in these terms:

> those silken fellowes are but painted Images... marry me with a Gentleman Grocer like my Lord Mayor your Father, a Grocer is a sweete trade, Plums, Plums[3].

1. T.Dekker, Old Fortunatus. sig. C3.
2. T.Dekker, The Seuen deadly Sinnes. 1606. Induction. sig. A3v.
3. T.Dekker, The Shomakers Holiday. 1600. sig. F2.

Despite the comic note here, Dekker's portrayal of the citizens is thoroughly sympathetic. In the plot of the play, too, Dekker shows as sure a touch as Heywood[1]. The building of Leadenhall was as important a business for London citizens as the founding of the Royal Exchange a little later.

It would not be true to say that Dekker never criticizes merchants; he reserves his right to do so in his Lord Mayors! Shows themselves[2]. But the virtues that Dekker admires are citizen virtues, that would appeal to the merchants. Thrift, for example, wins second place in the moralistic A Strange Horse-Race, and a whole complex of Puritan values is in Dekker's didactic couplet:

> England shall ne're be poore, if England striue
> Rather by vertue, then by wealth to thriue[3].

Some similar considerations are relevant to Dekker's successor, Thomas Heywood, who wrote all but one of the descriptive pamphlets between 1631 and 1639. In the intervening year there were no pageants, though £1 was paid to Dekker

> for his service offered to the Companie if any Pageants had been made[4].

In these circumstances it seems a little odd that although Dekker was still writing, he should have been so suddenly dropped in 1631 and 1632, especially by the Haberdashers' Company, that had been the first

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1. See immediately below. 2. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua. sig. B3v.
3. T. Dekker, Old Fortunatus. sig. Lv.
4. Malone Society, Collections. vol. 3. p. 120.

to employ his services after the long eclipse he had suffered.

That the cause of Dekker's retirement was Englands Elizabeth is a plausible guess. Heywood's account of the reign of the great queen was licensed to be printed on 26 April, 1631, and was very widely read. The supply of copies, indeed, was quickly exhausted, and the book had to be re-issued the next year.[1] When influential citizens read it they would discover that here was a writer with a spontaneous and disinterested devotion to pageantry. In Englands Elizabeth Heywood, making older sources his own, dwelt lovingly on processions and spectacles that took place years before his birth in 1575: the celebrations for Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor soon after their marriage, for Mary Tudor when she was thought to be expecting an heir, and above all for the accession of Elizabeth when the "diuers magnificent Pageants" were not unlike a Lord Mayor's Show, but a specially splendid and learned one. In Cornhill, on that occasion,

> a Pageant presented it selfe, called the Seate of worthy Go-uernment, intimating their dutifull all-egiance to her...Passing forward, another Pageant appeared, representing the eight Beatitudes, euery one applyed to her in particular by the Speaker:... [at] the litle Conduit in Cheape...was placed Time... [with] Truth the Daughter of Time, presenting the Bible in English...As shee went along in Fleete-streete

[Go-uernement]

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1. There was still another issue in 1641.

at S^t^ Dunstans Church, the children of Christ's Hospitall, sate there with the gouernours.[1]

If Heywood's prospective employers were acquainted with his dramatic work, as is neither certain nor impossible, his devotion to bourgeois London must also have commended itself to them. His stage plays contain situations highly reminiscent of the annual mayoral pageant. In Edward IV the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in velvet coats[2] and the members of the City Companies and apprentices are represented on the stage[3], while the action takes place in the City. The merchant prince Sir Thomas Gresham was a favourite figure in Lord Mayors' Shows, as founder of the Royal Exchange and of Gresham College, and had also played the same role in If you know not me, you know nobodie, pt.2. A prominent feature of Lord Mayors' Shows is their didacticism, and morality had always permeated Heywood's plays. The proper use of money is shown to Gresham (and the audience) in Edward IV by the King's account of ancient London worthies, while the apprentices are exhorted to industry and ambition within their own self-respecting class. The Lord Mayor himself holds up before them the prospect of the glittering prize:

> And, prentices, stick to your officers,
> For you may come to be as we are now[2].

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1. T.Heywood, Englands Elizabeth, 1631. pp. 228/33, cf, pp. 140, 208, 227.
2. T.Heywood, Edward IV, pt. 1. 1600. sig. A6.
3. ibid. sig. B2.

Heywood's dedications when his plays and prose works were printed similarly flattered the City.[1] He also praised the City's weapon, the Artillery Company, though unless this piece of verse had been in circulation many years before it was printed[2], it came too late to influence his first appointment. In reply to a lost attack, Heywood produced "Against a base and infamous Ballader, who disperst a scandalous riming Libell, in which hee malitiously traduced the noble exercises weekely practised in the Artillery Garden!"[2]

How much of all this the Companies may have known and taken into account when they selected Heywood it is difficult to say. It is, however, improbable that they took into consideration his classical work, which was nevertheless relevant to Lord Mayors' Shows. Heywood expressed at length the fable which both Munday and Dekker used in their Shows of 1605 and 1612:

> PRince Brute with Corineus doth Albion enter,
> At Totnes, thirty monstrous Gyants kils,
> And after much and dangerous aduenter,
> Builds London (cald new Troy)[3]

The four Ages[4] were written over a large part of Heywood's career, but not finished till after he had started writing for the Lord Mayors' Shows. There is one clear case of Heywood's classical work directly

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1. e.g. the dedication to The Four Prentises of London, 1632.
2. T. Heywood, Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's.1637.pp.283¼/4
3. T. Heywood, Troia Britanica. 1609. Canto 16,Stanza 9,11.1/4 p.415.
4. T. Heywood, The GoldenAge (1611), The Silver Age (1612),The Brazen Age (1613), The Iron Age (1632)

influencing his mayoral pageantry. The miscellany, Pleasant Dialogves and Dramma's, selected out of Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, &c, was registered for printing on August 29, 1635, though not actually ready till 1637. One of the items of this miscellany, Deorum Judicium, concerns the race of the goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus. Now Heywood's Ironmongers' mayoral pageant of 1635, Londini Sinus Salutis, is appropriate and traditional in introducing Mars to sing the praises of Iron and Steel, but departs from tradition in putting the whole emphasis of the Show on classical personages: Juno, Pallas, and Venus, the goddesses of Deorum Judicium, registered for printing within a few days of Michaelmas Day, immediately after which the preparations for the Show were normally put in hand.[1]

The previous year Heywood's other work may have had a very different effect on the mayoral pageant. In the autumn of 1634 the ageing Heywood reached the summit of his career with his masque Loves Mistresse, that was presented before the King and Queen no less than three times within the space of eight days.[2] Thus during the weeks when he would normally have been arranging the City's Show, Heywood had risen to the distant and glorious heights of a

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1. See pp. 72/3. 2. T. Heywood, Loves Mistresse. 1636. Title page.

writer of a Court masque, and probably declined to undertake further work.

He may, however, have suggested Taylor, a friend of long standing.[1] At any rate, Taylor wrote the Show for the first and last time in 1634. The following year he declined meekly to withdraw in favour of the friend who had shown him the way to make £10 or £12 for a few weeks' work, and with Robert Norman, co-artificer with Garrett Christmas in Middleton's Trivmphs of Loue and Antiquity,[2] presented to the Ironmongers' Court

> their proiect of 5 pageants for the Lord Maiors shewe for wch they demanded 190li and vnder that price they would not vndertake it.[3]

John Christmas and Heywood entered the field with

> their Invencon of 5 pageants ...wch Pageants they offered to make furnish well & sufficiently to the Compas liking for 180li.[4]

This second tender won the contract for Christmas and Heywood, and the Water Poet sang the praises of the City on Lord Mayor's Day no more. His attempt to wrest the Show from Heywood, however, is of interest since it shows that Heywood was not automatically appointed year after year. If another man could establish a better claim, he might do so: there was no position continuing in the hands of one man as a matter of course.

1. Taylor wrote commendatory verses for Heywood's An Apology For Actors. 1612.
2. T. Middleton, Trivmphs of Loue and Antiquity. sig. Dv.
3. Malone Society, Collections. vol. 3. p. 122. 4. ibid. p. 123.

For some years after 1639 there was no pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day, although the celebrations did not completely cease immediately. The Grocers' accounts for 1640[1], and the Goldsmiths' for 1643[2], indicate impressive processions. But the Grocers' Wardens' accounts, that usually record small payments for banners, trumpets and other small items, even if the Lord Mayor was not a Grocer, have no such entries from 1642-3 to 1650-1.[3] The accounts for 1651-2[4], when Sir John Kendrick, Grocer, was Lord Mayor, record the expenditure of £85.15.4 on various items, including a banner of the Lord Mayor's Arms, and from then on the Company were at some expense annually[5], while the Drapers' accounts[6] show that there was a big procession in 1654.

The following year came the first of the Commonwealth Shows, but the accompanying pamphlet by Edmund Gayton was a poem rather than a description of pageantry. Edmund Gayton, who was ousted from his Beadleship of Arts and Physic at Oxford by the Puritans[7], seems a strange choice. The follwwing year the descriptive pamphlet, signed in one copy[8] "I.B.",conformed more to pre-war pattern.

1.Grocers' Hall MS.117.ff.
2.W.S.Prideaux,Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company.London.1896.v.1.p217
3.Grocers' Hall MS.411. 4.ibid.
5.Grocers' Hall MS.412.
6.Drapers' Hall MS.+178.ff.130/133.
7. Sidney Lee .Article on E. Gayton in D.N.B.
8.C.33.e.10,sig.A2v. Copy at E892(7) is anonymous.

The series of pageant poets of major importance in the history of the Lord Mayor's Show starts again with John Tatham, who wrote these entertainments every year from 1657 to 1664. Such an uninterrupted succession of Shows by the same author was a new development, but the practice became characteristic of post-Restoration pageant poets, and even the great political crises seem to have been of only limited importance.

In Tatham's case, the difficulty is not so much how he survived the upheaval of 1659/60 but why he was appointed in the first place. Tatham's published work went back to the beginning of the dissensions, when he was a fanatical and not overscrupulous Royalist. His tragedy The Distracted State, written in the very year of the outbreak of hostilities[1], demanded unfavourable notice from the opponents of the King. Its title page bore the legend

> Seditiosæ sunt Reipublicae ruina,

which makes an appropriate motto for the aggressive fable within. The piece is aimed pointedly against those who, like Hemocrates and Antanter, rebel against their lawful sovereign and are punished by consequent dissnsion and mutually inflicted death.

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1. J. Tatham, The Distracted State. Title page.

Ten years later Tatham indicated his impenitence by having The Distracted State printed, and the next year printed The Scots Figgaries. The characteristic satire against the Scots was presumably not resented in England, and the plot of the play was not directly political. Much worse, from the point of view of the Companies, it attempted to bring into disrepute the citizen class, represented by persons whose names indicate their quality: Downfall, a lawyer; Soone-gul'd, a citizen; and Laymedown, his wife.

The only consideration that can be set against this is itself hypothetical. Music flourished under Puritan rule[1], and Tatham's poems proved unusually apt for setting to music. Before the Restoration, no less than seventeen poems from Ostella,1650, were in print with musical notation. If these songs got into print after they became popular, rather than before, Tatham may have been already

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1.See P.Scholes,Music and Puritanism.Lausanne.1934.
2.TEll me not I die, or live by thee.Ostella,p.74/5,Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues,pt.1,p.35.1653.Set by Brewer.
b.Fifteen songs from Ostella(first page number below) were set by Gamble in Ayres and Dialogues,1659(second page number below).BEleeve me Love by those fair eys,p.31/2,p.25. Day that's lost er'e scarcely shewn,The,p.32/3,p.35. HElp Love,or els I sink,p.16,p.2/4. HOw dearest! art thou weary of thy Fame,p.29/30.p.33. I Would not Wed the Creature that desires,p.21/2,p.34/5. IF thou intend'st onely to try,p.84/5, p.39. KNow Dearest 'twas no easie Art,p.92/4.p.38. PHelicia wept. and from her eys,p.77,p.29. THine eyes shall be my Stars no more,p.95,p.34. WHat Creatures on Earth can boast freer Mirth,p.106/7,p.36. WHat though I did swear your eye,
(cont. at foot of next page).

among the most widely known song-writers of his age in 1657. Certainly in his time, and still more in that of his successor, the place of music in the Lord Mayor's Show noticeably increased.

For whatever reason, Tatham was appointed in 1657, and retained his position the next year when Sir John Ireton was Lord Mayor. This is somewhat surprising, for however much one may discount political considerations on the grounds that the City was weary of discord and its consequent financial loss, Sir John Ireton had interests of family and prestige that might have caused him to object to his praises being sung by a violent Royalist. That Tatham remained so he soon showed, by writing, in the chaotic year 1659, The Rump? or The Mirrour of The late Times , that according to its 1660 title page was

Acted Many Times with Great Applause, at the Private House in Dorset Court.

This play certainly gave the City reason to retain Tatham when it was bent on eulogizing the King by denigrating his defeated opponents. Tatham's venom is clearly indicated by the final scene, in which the disgraced Mrs.

(cont. from previous page).
p.75,p.40. 'TIs true/I did receive a life from you,p.103, p.36. WHen you Ostella grac'd me with a Kisse,p.9/10,p.37. WHo can boast a happiness,p.107/8,p.40. WHo would not think those Rising Beams,p.5/6,p.1.
c.COme Adonis,come again.Ostella,p.82/3,Select Ayres and Dialogues,1659.p.37.Set by William Lawes.

Cromwell is pictured with a tub repeatedly crying

What Kitchin-stuffe have you Maids, Maids have you any Kitchin-stuffe Maids?[1]

If Tatham was in any danger of not being re-engaged in the years following the Restaration, the reason lay not in undesirable activities on Tatham's part, but in the splendid claims to attention of Thomas Jordan. It is perfectly true that Tatham prepared certain entertainments for the City other than the mayoral pageants. Aqua Triumphalis, an account of the spectacles provided by the City for the King and Queen on the Thames in 1668, is in particular a very adequate piece of work, but it and Londons Glory, written at the entertainment of Charles 11 at Guildhall on July 5,1660, constitute Tatham's contribtution. Jordan's record of City entertainments, however, far surpassed this both in number and in liveliness.

Jordan's connection with the theatre went back to the days before the civil war, when his first comedy was acted[2]. Like Tatham, he was a Royalist, and his work a dozen or more years after the Restoration has a constant backward reference to the troubles of Oliver's time[3]. During the Commonwealth period, he not only issued his own and other persons' works, some-

1.J.Tatham,The Rump,1660.p.67.
2.T.Jordan,The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon,1657.sig.A8.
3.T.Jordan,The Triumphs of London.1678.pp.14/20; London's Resurrection.1671.p.8/11.(This droll was first printed in Merry Drollery,1661.pp.171/175).

times previously printed[1], but also continued new theatrical activities, composing the two masques Cupid his Coronation, 1654[2], and Fancy's Festivals, printed 1657[3].

Many marginal literary activities were frowned upon by the Puritans, who connected them disapprovingly with drama in a Parliamentary order of 1648 to

> surprise all...Persons as sell, sing, or publish, Ballads or Books, scandalous to the Parliament...and to suppress Playhouses, and apprehend the Players[4].

This, however, does not prove animus against all Ballads. Nor did the masque - very close to Davenant's formula for re-introducing the drama - come entirely under a Puritan ban. Certain occasions and places seem to have been comparatively free for dramatic activity, and, curiously, Company halls may have been among them. Anthony a Wood specifies "corporation halls" as among the places where there were dramatic performances[5], but this may be poor evidence, since Wood's passage is closely based on the title page of the second part of The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport[6], in which mention is made simply of "halls". If these halls were Company halls, any performances in them referred to here were probably before 1655, for Wits was principally devoted to the drolls of Robert Cox,

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1.T.Seccombe, Article on T.Jordan, city poet, in D.N.B.
2.Bodleian Rawlinson MS. B. 165. ff.107/113.
3.British Museum C.34.d.5.
4.Journals, House of Commons. vi. 20b.
5.A a Wood,Athenae Oxoniensis. ed. P.Bliss. v.3.p.209.
6.J.J.Elson, ed. Wits. Prededing p.267.

who died in 1655[1]. Jordan, however, cannot be definitely connected either with dramatic activity (beyond that already mentioned) or with the City Companies till 1659/60, when he produced several lively, farcical, musical

Representations in Parts to be Habited, Sung, and Acted, as they have been often times with great applause performed before the Lord Major and the Sheriffs of London.[2]

Most of these were entertainments to greet General Monk on his arrival from Scotland. Jordan was commissioned to provide one or more by five major Companies: the Drapers[3], Goldsmiths[4], Fishmongers[5], Skinners[6], and Vintners[7].

Despite Jordan's success, Tatham continued to write the Lord Mayors' Shows till 1664. Jordan's attitude contrasted sharply with that of John Taylor, whose actions showed more clearly than words his wish to displace the apparently settled Heywood[8]. Jordan betrayed neither jealousy nor any spirit of rivalry in the verses he addressed to Tatham:

> The Sun hath twenty Summers strew'd the earth
> With flowers, since our Acquaintance first took birth:
> It vvas a season vvhen our Drums and Flutes

1.Parish Register, St. James, Clerkenwell. Printed in Harleian Soc. Publ. vol. 4. p.336.
2.T.Jordan, A Royal Arbor. 1664. p.29.
3.Rump.1662. pt.2. pp. 189/192.
4.T.Jordan, Royal Arbor. pp.5/6.
5.ibid. pp.7/10.
6.ibid. pp.2/3.
7.T.Jordan, A Speech...at Vinteners-hal. 1660. British Museum: 669.f.24(61).
8.cf. p.154.

Did give precedency to Love and Lutes:
When men by Piety vvere so restrain'd,
They durst not think a K. could be Arraign'd:
Plays vvere in fashion too, they did not fear,
To have their plots brought to the Theater:
The big-look'd Hector-like Bravadoe's then
(That liv'd on Whores, and Country Centlemen)
Were call'd the Blades, great Colonels did use
To vvear blevv Frocks, and cobble Porters shoes:
Ere Austin vvas put dovvn, and Burton Sainted
(Thanks to my destiny) vve vvere acquainted"[1]

For some years after and including 1665 there were understandably no Shows, though the Drapers' big procession in 1669[2] indicates some revival after the physical and financial depredations of the preceding years. Two years later the revival was complete with Jordan's first Show, London's Resurrection, the first of a series appearing annually till London's Royal Triumph in 1684. Unlike his predecessor and his successor, Jordan was not required to weather a national political crisis; but the struggle waged between the King and the Corporation for power in the City placed Jordan in a very delicate position. The Lord Mayor of 1680, Sir Patience Ward, was so zealous a Protestant that he had caused inscriptions to be engraved[3] on the Monument and on the house in Pudding Lane where the Great Fire started accusing the Roman Catholics of

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1. T. Jordan, Wit in a Wildernesse. 1665? sig. ++6v.
2. Drapers' Hall MS. +178.
3. Charles Welch , Article on Sir Patience Ward in D.N.B.

arson. Jordan therefore obligingly entertained his Lordship during the Banquet with two high-spirited songs, "The Plotting Papists Litany" and "The Protestants Exhortation"[1]. Unfortunately the next year the dispute that was to end in the City's loss of its Charter broke out with fury. The "protestant sheriffs",called, unexpectedly, Dubois and Papillon, backed by the late Lord Mayor, Sir Patience Ward, and his sheriffs, fought fiercely but unsuccessfully for the City's right to appoint its own officers. Hence the Lord Mayor for whom Jordan had to write was a mere nominee of the King; and Jordan's Show the previous year seemed to have committed him to the losing side. However, the King was content to get his own way, and did not insist that the City should pretend to like it. In fact in the two succeeding years, 1682 and 1682, there were, strictly speaking, no Shows; only processions and banqueting songs. Jordan seems to have been sufficiently alarmed by the events, that might easily have lost him his job, to have restrained himself from writing satirical songs in such a dangerous situation. In 1684, nevertheless, when the City finally lost its Charter, and the situation was resolved, he came forward with his aggressively titled last Show, London's Royal Triumph for the City's Loyal Magistrate. Jordan comes

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1. T.Jordan, Londons Glory. 1680. pp. 14/15 & 15/16.

out of this political tangle with exactly as much political reputation as he went in with: that is to say, none at all. Politics were too plainly part of everyday life for Jordan to ignore them altogether; he was, naturally, as a player and dramatist, a Royalist, though there is no reason to suppose him to have been an hysterically fanatical one like Tatham; and he regarded both Roman Catholicism and Dissenting Puritanism with dislike. Perhaps Jordan stretched a point in relation to the last when he flattered Sir Patience Ward's predilections, but if that gentleman had been brought up and remained a Puritan, it was not in Dissent, but in the Calvinist wing of the Established Church.[1] Otherwise Jordan was fairly consistent to these simple, and popular, basic views, beyond which he was not apparently interested in politics, except when current events served as material for his satire.

Matthew Taubman, his successor, is comparable in this respect much more with Tatham than with Jordan. Making his first appearance in print in 1682, in the aftermath of the Popish Plot and in the later stages of the struggle that the City Whigs lost to the King and his Tories, Taubman directed his attention to

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1. Memoirs of S[r] Patience Ward Knt. written by himself. B.M. MS. 4224 PLUT. CVI.H.

the heir to the throne with An Heroick Poem to his Royal Highness The Duke of York, On his Return From Scotland. In this work he said everything that could make him distasteful to the defeated but majority Whig party in the City. The personification of the Roman threat was honoured in terms that were dangerously and allusively superlative:

> And may he with the Joys he wed
> For ever happy be,
> And live to crush the Serpents Head,
> Whose Sting did pierce his Knee:
> 'Till Rebells tremble at his Name,
> And all the Land agree,
> The Rightful Int'rest to proclaim
> Of YORK and ALBANY.[1]

As for the merchants who were to employ Taubman only three years later, they were roundly told that a

> Whigg is a thing
> Is a Rebel to his Maker as well as his King[2],

and that the City, precisely because it never accepted the dominance of the King with equanimity, was the seat of treason:

> The Co--ns to th' City are trotting amain,
> Where they sit plotting
> Who next shall reign[3].

In the year of James's accession, that was also the year of his first Lord Mayor's Show, Taubman published a new collection of Loyal Poems and Satyrs, in which he continued his bigoted (and somewhat gratuitous) insults with satires on the Dissenters, the Pope-burning pro-

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1. M. Taubman, An Heroick Poem. 1682. p.13.
2. ibid. p.20;
3. ibid. p.9.

cessions, the Meal Tub plot, and Parliament, and finally with a prayer for liberation from

> From the Mouth of the City, that never gives o'r
>
> To complain of Oppressions unheard-of before,
> And yet for his Letchery will not quit score[1].

Jordan had put the first point, entertainingly and more good-humouredly, into the mouths of a Seaman and a West-Countryman in one of his Banqueting jigs[2], but Jordan's satire creates the impression of being free and not sycophantic. Tatham's attack[3] on the other hand, had the same disagreeable flavour as Taubman's. It is possible that this political record may have led in part to Taubman's appointment by the cowed City. Certainly the assertion seems at first sight implausible, but it is quite impossible that in a town the size of London then Taubman's reputation should have been unknown to the Ironmongers, his first employers, and equally implausible that they were unable to find a minor poet less aggressively Royalist and Tory.

There is, however, another important aspect that may very reasonably have counted in Taubman's favour. Music had been growing in importance in the Lord Mayors' Shows since the Restoration. Jordan usually provided musical Banqueting entertainments

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1. M. Taubman, Loyal Poems. 1685.
2. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London, 1678. p. 18.
3. See p. 158/9.

that were sometimes dramatic as well[1], and on one occasion at least the public Show in his hands resembled nothing so much as an open-air popular opera.[2] Now Taubman's reputation in 1682 was presumably as much musical as literary, for "An Heroick Poem" of 1682 was merely a four page preface to a song book, complete with musical notation, of twenty pages. Loyal Poems and Satyrs contains no notation, but one poem is specifically written to fit a named tune[3], while several others are plainly meant to be sung.[4] The Ironmongers' records also notice Taubman only respecting the songs[5], thogh his pamphlet, London's Annual Triumph, included three speeches as well as very full descriptions. In these circumstances, Taubman's musical competence may well have been the determining factor in his appointment.

The close of Taubman's career is somewhat mysterious, but is most probably to be connected with the Whig Revolution. At the end of October, 1688 London's Anniversary Festival celebrated James II's empty restoration of the City Charter; on the first of November William of Orange landed in England. Nevertheless the City retained Taubman's services for a further year. Then he dis-

1. London's Resurrection, 1671; Triumphs of London, 1678
2. London's Royal Triumph, 1684.
3. The Meal Tubb Plot, p. 55. 4. "Geneva Litany", p.102; "Norwich Litany", p. 105; "Loyall Litany", p. 108. Possibly "On the Death of the Protestant Joyner", p.24; "State Cases Put", p.99.
5. J. Nicholl, Account of Ironmongers, p.304/5.

appeared from view. Whether his political past had caught up with him, whether some high-minded official found his venality intolerable, or whether he died, remains a matter of conjecture.

But even now the liberated City did not appoint a staunch Whig to sing its praises. It was in this respect, indeed, that Elkanah Settle had particularly disgraced himself. In the days when the town had considered him a worthy rival to Dryden, he supported the Whig cause with such blows as Absalom Senior: Or, Achitophel Transpos'd...sold ...at the Sign of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey,1682. But during the three years of James's reign he had worn other colours. Though neither he, nor Taubman, was singular in this opportunism, one might have thought that the Whig City would regard his defection with some seriousness.

But in Settle's case there were outstanding opposing considerations. Jordan, with his high spirits, comparatively free satiric bent, and ingenuity, had raised the Lord Mayors' Shows to a level where they were genuinely entertaining. The same could not be said of Taubman. In Settle the City had a man whose natural bent and principal interest was in the spectacular. Two of his late plays, in fact, became operas with music by Daniel

and Henry Purcell[1], and it has been suggested[2] that Settle made a material contribution to English drama by his mastery of scenic effects. Such mastery is more obviously indispensable in pageantry than in the regular drama. No doubt Settle gained some of his reputation as

> the best contriver of machinery in England[3] from his Lord Mayors' Shows, from his operas, and from his Bartholomew Fair drolls, but already in 1691 he had given plenty of evidence of his proficiency as a master of spectacle.

In his earliest play, Cambyses, printed in 1671, there are physical combats, portents, and ghosts, and a scene in which

> on a Table appears the Body of Osiris, beheaded; & an Executioner, with the suppos'd head in a vessel of blood[4].

More directly resembling a Lord Mayor's, rather than a Pope-burning, pageant, was an allegorical scene

> representing a steep Rock, from the top of which descends a large Cloud, which opening, appear various shapes of Spirits seated in form of a Councel, to whom a more glorious Spirit descends half way, seated on a Throne; at which, the former Spirits rise and Dance: In the midst of the Dance arises a Woman with a Dagger in her hand; at which the Scene shuts.[5]

The printed version of The Empress of Morocco, 1673,

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1. The World in the Moon, 1697; The Fairy Queen, 1692.
2. T. Cibber, Lives of the Poets. 4 vols. 1773. v. 3. p. 352/3.
3. T. Settle, Cambyses, 1671. p. 47.
4. ibid. p. 49.
5. F. C. Brown, Elkanah Settle. 1910. pp. 79/80.

was adorned with sculptures that show how close Settle's scenic display in drama could be to that required for the Lord Mayor's Show. Specially noteworthy is

> a Moorish Dance...presented by Moors in several Habits, who bring in an artificial Palm-tree, about which they dance to several antick Instruments of Musick; in the intervals of the Dance, this Song is sung by a Moorish Priest and two Moorish Women; the Chorus of it being performed by all the Moors.
>
> No Musick like that which Loyalty sings
> A Consort of Hearts at the Crowning of Kings[1].

Another "sculpture"[2] shows a triumphal fleet, and the accompanying verses, descriptive of its course upstream, see the "gui⟨l⟩ded Currents" of the Thames as taking new glories

> From the Reflection his bright Streamers make:
> The Waves a Masque of Martial Pageants yield,
> A Flying Army on a floating Field.2

Settle's very titles - The Conquest of China by the Tartars ,1676;Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa,1677; Pastor Fido,1677; betray Settle's spectacular interests. The Female Prelate; Being the History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan, added to spectacle a devotion to anti-Roman propaganda of a sensational if implausible kind that, like the pope-burning processions that Settle was organizing at this time,1680, was called forth by the Popish Plot.

1.E.Settle,Empress of Morocco.1673.p.13. "Sculpture" opposite p.13.
2.ibid.p.8

A wealth of ingenious devising, elaborate costuming, and political malice went into the three Pope-burning processions of 1679 and the two following years, and Settle's extremely competent managing of them was probably the ultimate and excellent reason for his apointment to manage the Lord Mayors' Show a decade later.

There was a Pope-burning procession in 1677 for which there is no descriptive pamphlet. Though less elaborate, that procession was clearly the forerunner of the later ones. On that occasion, more barbarous than usual, there were

> mighty bonefires and y^e^ burning of a most costly pope, caryed by four persons in divers habits, and y^e^ effigies of 2 divells whispering in his eares, his belly filled full of live catts who squawled most hideously[1].

The pamphlets describing the later processions were published anonymously, but Settle's responsibility, and his employment by the Whigs, are alleged in a news-sheet. The writer knows

> a lusty Fellow,...who has an indifferent Hand at making of Crackers, Serpents, Rockets, and the other Play-things, that are proper on the fifth of November; and has for such his skill received Applause and Victuals from the munificent Gentlemen about Temple-Bar...Elk--- promises to vindicate Lucifer's first Rebellion for a few Guinies.[2]

Settle certainly had "an indifferent hand" at fireworks, for there was one

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1. Hatton Correspondence, ed. E. M. Thompson. Camden Society. 2 vols. 1878. v. 1. p. 157. (From letter dated November 22, 16 77.)
2. "Heraclitus Ridens", Jan. 10, 1681. Referred to by G. Sitwell, The First Whig. 1894. p. 101.

made in form of a Cardinal's Cap, which being fastened to a certain Rope, was so artificially prepar'd, so as to disperse Fire, and give it self motion in any extraordinary manner[1].

But the processions as a whole are of interest: they are probably by Settle; and they are the only public displays after the celebrations at Charles II's homecoming of a size, ingenuity and type to rival the Lord Mayor's Show.

Like the Lord Mayor's Show, the procession wound the length of the City[2], but ended up at Temple Bar. Since there was no civic occasion, there was no real procession, simply, in 1679 and 1680, some whifflers and

> A Bellman Ringing, and with a Loud (but Dolesome) Voice, Crying out all the way, REMEMBER JVSTICE GODFREY,[3]

and in 1681 nothing at all. The pageants proper were interconnected through the years, though they varied to some extent. In 1679 the third item after the whifflers and the bellman, came

> A Dead Body, representing Justice Godfrey, in Decent Black Habit, carry'd before a Jesuit in Black, on Horsebak, in like manner as he was carry'd by the Assassins to Primrose-Hill.
> 4.Next after Sir Edmundbury,so mounted, came a Priest in a Surplice, with a Cope Embroider'd with Dead Bones,

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1."Mercurius Anglicus",Thur.Nov.13/Thur.Nov.20.1679.
2.Londons Defiance to Rome.1679.p.2
3.ibid.p.2.

Skeletons, Skulls, and the like, giving Pardons very Plentifully to all those that should Murder Protestants, and Proclaiming it Meritorious.
5. Then a Priest in Black alone, with a great Silver Cross.
6. Four Carmelites in White and Black Habits.
7. Four Grey Fryars in the proper Habits of their Order.
8. Six Jesuits with Bloody Daggers.
9. A Consort of Wind-Musick.
10. Four Bishops in Purple and Lawn Sleeves, with a Golden Crosier on their Breast, and Crosier-Staves in their hands.
11. Four other Bishops in Pontificalibus, with Surplices, and rich Embroidered Copes, and Golden Miters on their Heads.
12. Six Cardinals in Scarlet Robes and Caps.
13. The Popes Doctor with Jesuites Powder in one hand, and an Urinal in the other.
14. Two Priests in Surplices with two Golden Crosses.

Lastly, The Pope in a lofty glorious Pageant, representing a Chair of State, covered with Scarlet, the Chair richly Embroidered and Fringed, and bedeck'd with Golden Balls and Crosses; At his Feet a Cushion of State, and two Boys in Surplices with White Silk Banners, and Bloody Crucifixes and Daggers, with an Incense-Pot before them, Censing his Holiness, who was arrayed in a splendid Scarlet Gown, lined through with Ermin, and richly daubed with Gold and Silver Lace; on his Head a Tripple Crown of Gold, and a glorious Collar of Gold and precious Stones; St. Peters Keys, a number of Beads, Agnus Dei's, and other Catholick Trumpery. At his back, his Holinesses Privy Counsellor (The degraded Seraphim) Anglicè the Devil, frequently Caressing, Hugging, and Whispering him, and oft-times instructing him aloud to destroy His Majesty; to forge a Protestant Plot, and to Fire the City again, to which purpose he held an Infernall Torch in his hand.[1]

At Temple Bar there was a topical part song between the English people and the English Cardinal, for whose unpopularity there was a whole series of reasons: a witness of the King's marriage according to the Roman Catholic rite with Catherine of Braganza in 1662, he had become chaplain to the Queen, and then grand-almoner; His habit of appearing in public dressed

1. Londons Defiance to Rome. pp. 2/3.

as an ecclesiastic was an outward sign of the proselytizing zeal that led him to take and active part in promoting the Declaration of Indulgence. It was hardly surprising that in 1674 he had to take refuge abroad, an exile to which the Pope reacted by making him cardinal priest. Titus Oates's charge of complicity in the Popish Plot led to an English impeachment for High treason and to the further papal honour of designation as cardinal-protector of England and Scotland.[1] Hence Philip Howard became "The English Cardinal", and the aggressive policies of both sides made him perhaps the most hated figure in England at the time of the first big Pope-burning procession. In the song the Cardinal's part, if sinister, is also short. He is merely allowed to announce that

> FRom York to London Town we come,
> To talk of Popish Ire,
> To Reconcile you all to Rome
> And prevent Smithfield Fire,[2]

before the Plebs bursts in full-bloodedly with

> Cease! Cease thou Norfolk Cardinal,
> See yonder stands Queen Bess,
> Who sav'd our Soŭls from Popish Thrall,
> O Queen Bess, Queen Bess, Queen Bess.
>
> Your Popish Plot and Smithfield Threat,
> We do not fear at all,
> For Loe! beneath Queen Besses feet,
> You fall, you fall, you fall.
>
> Now God preserve Great CHARLES our King,
> And eke all Honest men;

1.

1. T. Cooper ,Article on Philip Thomas Howard in D.N.B.
2. London's Defiance to Rome; p.4.

> And Traitors all to Justice bring,
> Amen,Amen,Amen.[1]

This song,during which the first effigy was evidently toppled down, formed the introduction to the climax of the entertainment, when, the organizers

> having entertain'd the thronging Spectators for some time, with the Ingenious Fireworks, a vast Bonfire being prepared just over against the Inner-Temple-Gate, his Holiness after some Compliments and Reluctancies, was decently Toppled from all his Grandeur into the Impartial Flames; The crafty Devil leaving his Infallibility-ship in the lurch, and laughing as heartily at his deserv'd Ignominious end,..as credulous Coleman's Abettors did, when with pretences of a Reprieve at last gaspe, they had made him vomit up his Soul with a Lye, and sealed his dangerous Chops with an Halter.[2]

The procession of 1680 opened in the same way as that of the previous year with whifflers, a bellman and the body of Justice Godfrey, and then preceded the first pageant proper with an enormous banner

> representing on the one side, The Cabal of the Jesuits at Wild-House all hanging on one Gibbit; and among 'em another Twelve, that would betray their Trust or Conscience. On the other side is represented Gammer Celliers with a Bloody Bladder, and all her other Presbyterian Plot Forgers; and Protestants in Masquerade; and all this in Colours on a Cloth.[3]

This banner introduced the immediately topical first pageant. Elizabeth Celliers, automatically suspected

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1. Londons Defiance to Rome.p.4. MS insertions suggest that the populace took part and perhaps improvised. After "you fall" there is:"Tis true our King's on tother side/A looking towards White Hall/But could we bring him round about/He'd Counterplot you all./Then down with
[5] James and sett up Charles/On good Queen Besses side/That all his Commons Lords and Earles. May wish him a fruitfull Bride!' After "Amen" comes:"And Traitors all both great and smale. Amen &c."
2. ibid.p.4. 3. The Solemn Mock-Procession.p.3. 1680.

of subversive activities on account of her marriage to a Frenchman, had really at the time of the Plot visited the prisoners in Newgate and got one of them, Dangerfield, released on condition, he said, that he would murder the King and pretend to be involved in a sham Presbyterian Plot. The documentary evidence for this was in a meal tub in Mrs.Cellier's home, where, surprisingly, the document was in fact discovered. Mrs.Celliers was brought to trial in 1680, but acquitted, because the witness against her was infamous.[1] Nevertheless, tha Meal Tub Plot provided the sensation of the year, and very appropriately found a place in the anti-Roman procession. On that occasion

In the forepart of the first Pageant is a Meal-Tub, where-upon Mrs Celliers leans, she being on the one Corner, and having a Narrative in her Hand. On the other Corner of the Pageant is one in Black, standing bare-headed, and playing on a Fiddle. Behind these there stand the Figures of four Protestants in Masquerade, all in Bipartite Garments of White and Black.[2]

Of the two horsemen following this pageant, the

first

his Face toward the Tayl, with an Inscription on his Back, This is an Abhorrer;[3]

inspired part of the next year's procession, while the second, carrying a banner inscribed

We Protestants in Masquerade usher in Popery[3],

1. T. Cooper ,Article on Elizabeth Celliers in D.N.B.
2. The Solemn Mock-Procession.p.3.
3. ibid.p.4.

continued the allusions to the Meal Tub Plot. The next five pageants[1] merely carried various orders and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, in ascending order of rank and elaborateness of costuming: Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, Bishops, and finally

> Two Patriarchs with two-faced Crosiers, in Bishop-like Vest-ments, and two Cardinals do ride in this Pageant in pure Scarlet Habits, wherein the Pope will not be beholden to Christ for their Institution or Robes, being next Cousins to the Scarlet Whore of Babylon in every Point[2].

These matters of opinion are plainly irrelevant to the pamphlet as a description of the procession, and indicate that it was intended to be read, not simply to be used as a programme. The pamphlet continues to the end in the same vein, ending with a more elaborate pageant than any hitherto. After the Patriarchs and Cardinals, and the Pope's Master of Ceremonies, carrying the Pope's Triple Cross ("which he scorns to carry himself"[2]), and crying aloud,

> Here you may have Heaven for Money[2],

comes, discussed as well as described,

> Antichrist himself; for neither Christ nor Peter ever took such a worldly prodigal Grandeur on them; he is all arrayed in Scarlet-Robes, Furr'd with Ermines, and covered with Gold and Silver-Lace, with a triple Crown, on the Front whereof is writ, MYSTERY; he holdeth 2 Keys in his hands, which are pretended to be of a Place where he is never like to

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1. The Solemn Mock-Procession. p. 4/5.
2. Ibid. p. 5.

get in himself; two Swords stand at his Right Hand, typifying that of Excommunication, and of the Civill Dominion he claims over Kings and Princes; wherefore there is the poor Emperor Frederick sprawling under his feet; on whose Neck he insolently trode at Venice...there is a Page of his in White at one Corner of the throne, brandishing a Banner, whereon is writ ⟨,This is the KING OF KINGS, and as if that were⟩ not sufficient, another Page on the other Corner holds a Streamer, on which is, Thou art our GOD the POPE; which Sayings are in the Roman Canon-Law, and Ceremonial, to be said at his Installation...[1]

The eighth pageant was a single person,

the Empress Donna Olympia, who was the Popes Mistress by her Lust[1],

but in the ninth and last the pamphlet left

the Honey that surrounds the Cup of Abomination [1]

for

the Sting of the Inquisition[that] lies in this Serpents Tayl.[1]

This scene was

a Seat of Judicature, whereon sits a Bishop as Inquisitor-General, and is surrounded by other Monks as Inquisitors-Assistants; there stands a poor Martyr condemned, before them, dragg'd to a Stake, environed with Faggots to burn him, and then put a Sanbenite-Cap on his head all painted with Devils; and all the Theatre round about is strewed and hemm'd with Racks and Instruments of Cruelty.[1]

After all the pageants had passed, the

Solemnity is closed with Fuzees and artificial Fires.[1]

This procession of 1680 was by far the most elaborate of the whole series, and, the pamphlet

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1. The Solemn Mock-Procession. p. 5.

pointed out in conclusion,

> The full Manner of this Procession is lively represented to the Eye on a Copper-Plate, and to be Sold by Jonathan Wilkins at the Star in Cheapside next to Mercers-Chappel.[1]

The procession of 1681 reverted largely to earlier forms. It was opened by Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and his Jesuit, while the Abhorrer of the previous year became

> the Effigies of a monstrous Animal with his face reverst, making Observations[2] upon the Horse-tail[3].

A "certain Typographer" and a "discarded Reformado" were followed by the friars, Jesuits, Bishops and Cardinals, just as they had been in 1679. Then came

> a Pillory high erected upon a Sledge, and in it the Effigies of Three Outlandish-men, and two others, three of them standing in the Pillory, and one sitting upon a Chair, having a paper pinned upon his Breast, with this Inscription, I am not P. Then...several Pictures.[4]

The final pageant of His Holiness was also a mere throw-back to 1679. The Pope's dress was described in terms similar to those used in 1680, and his charioteer was a Jesuit, but the essential humorous device of 1679, the advice of the Devil,

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1.There is a)The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE Cardinalls Jesuits Fryers &c:through the City of London November the 17th, 1680, and b)Londons Drollery:...as it was to be seen in London, November the 17th.1680.a)B.M. C.20.f.6. b)B.M. Rox.11,292. This was almost certainly written by the same author (Settle?) as The Solemn Mock-Procession.cf.Londons Drollery:"From Dominick they took their Name,/Who bid the first Pope-haters blame!"; and "With Collars like a Pasty Crust", with The Solemn Mock-Procession:"one Dominick,who for preaching ten years

re-appeared. This time

> all the way the Devil bobs him, and takes him by the Nose with a pair of Pincers...[until, at] Temple-bar, ...a large fire being prepared by the Gentlemen of those Loyal Inns of Court, his Holiness in all his Pontificalibus, together with the rest of the Effigies, Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey excepted, will be Sacrificed up to Moloc...Nor will there be wanting Fire-works[1].

This was the last of the great Pope-burning processions. One of the results of the King's victory[2] in the City was that the City police were early ordered to prevent a recurrence of the demonstrations[3]. Thus ten years intervened between Settle's last Pope-burning procession and his first Lord Mayor's Show. Not that there is any question of a direct influence: with the exception of the traditional pageant device of the conqueror treading the conquered underfoot, found both in 1680 and in numerous Lord Mayors' Shows[4]; and of the possibility that the Meal Tub of the 1680 procession influenced Jordan in one of his Shows[5],

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(cont. from previous page).
against the Innocent Albigenses (the first Disclaimers of the Popish Errors in France)"p.4/5; and, "Here strut out four Jesuits...with high Collars mounting up about their Necks like a Pasty-Crust".p.5.
3.The Procession.1681.p.2.
2.cf."The Observator",Wed.23 Nov.,1681.
4.The Procession.1681.p.3.

1.The Procession.1681.p.3.
2.Others besides the Tories deplored the processions.cf. A.Marvell,Poems and Letters.2 vols. Ed.H.M.Margoliouth. Oxford.1952.v.2,p.33:"I am afraid they burne Popes to night."
3."The Domestick Intelligence",13/16 Nov.1681.
4.cf. pp.225/6 & note 4. 5.cf. pp.136/7.

individual correspondences do not exist. This is natural enough in view of the widely divergent purposes of the two Shows. The aim of the Pope-burning procession was to arouse mass hatred and contempt, and its principal means was savage burlesque. The intention of the Lord Mayor's Show, on the contrary, was to glorify the chief office of an important city, and its basic means were dignified and traditional pageantry and appropriate speeches. The City and its leading members, it is true, were involved in politics, and the content of the Show was inevitably influenced; further, Lord Mayor's Day was a secular festival, and simple entertainment might therefore reasonably be looked for: but both these aspects are subordinate. In terms of organization, however, there is a close correspondence. Settle's work in costuming players, devising fireworks, writing pamphlets, working out the pageants, and a hundred other things, made him far more than a novice when he was faced with his first Lord Mayor's Show. Finally there is a point of possible importance[1]: the instigators of the Pope-burning processions were the Whigs, who, after the Revolution of 1668/9, came into their own in the City, and were Settle's employers in 1691.

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1. cf. p. 168.

But the decade between 1681 and 1691 was a long enough period to allow Settle's claims to pass out of mind. Nor did he do much to keep his reputatiom alive in the drama. Between 1682 and 1691 there is a great gap in his activity. Further, by 1691 the rival of Dryden had degenerated into an object of contempt in the literary world. No doubt Settle himself brought his claims to the Drapers' notice, and it is against all reason that the strongest of them should be considered to be anything but his work in the Pope-burning processions. Nevertheless an assisting immediate cause may have been his suddenly revived dramatic success, with the production of Distress'd Innocence, one of the best of his plays, and with a full quota of spectacle[1], in the same year as his first Lord Mayor's Show.

By this time the Shows, survivors by half a century or more of xxxxxxxx even the end of the great age of European pageantry, were becoming increasingly unpopular with those who had to pay for them, and all Settle's efforts to keep the Show alive failed. After a gap of two years in 1696 and 1697, the next year's Show was optimistically entitled Glory's Resurrection, and the resurrected

1. E. Settle, Distress'd Innocence. 1691. pp. 3, 42, 53/4, 58/9.

display continued for five years, but then became, from the spectator's point of view, defunct. Six years later the Goldsmiths' Company allowed or engaged Settle to revive the Show once more, but although the description of the Show was published, with illustrative sculptures somewhat pathetically repeated from the previous revival, also the Goldmsiths', of 1698, the pageants were never displayed. The accident of the death of the Prince of Denmark, Queen Anne's husband, two days before Lord Mayor's Day, dealt the final blow to the pagenabry of Lord Mayor's Day. But this was a mere immediate cause. All the signs - the unwillingness of Company members to pay, the different temper of the age, the disappearance or reduced splendour, both in England and abroad, of other pageantry - indicate that the Lord Mayor's Show could have lasted little longer.

Settle himself must have deeply regretted its demise, for it at least provided him with a few sorely needed pounds. But just as his work on the Pope-burning processions was relevant to his work as pageant poet, so the latter could be turned to account by the old man in Bartholomew Fair. Settle's operatic spectacle, The Siege of Troy, played in Mrs. Mynn's booth in the Fair,[1] was a series of

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1.H.Morley, Bartholomew Fair. 1859. p. 373ff. (Pamphlet fully quoted. I have not been able to find a copy of the pamphlet in London, and have therefore relied upon Morley's reprint.)

pageantic structures. There were Paris and Helen in a Triumphant Chariot drawn by two white horses,[1] the Trojan Horse seventeen feet high trampling on Sinon,[2] and the Temple of Diana filled with the statues of gods.[3] These classical reminiscences, monstrous animals, and temples are much more like the Lord Mayor's Show than, for example, the Pope-burning processions were. It would nevertheless be a mistake to exaggerate the resemblance into an influence, for Settle's whole career is the triumph of spectacle. It is, therefore, fitting that he should be the last of the pageant poets to the City of London. Running in sure succession, not from Heywood's days only, but from Peele's,[4] the line that had been disparaged at the beginning of the period by Jonson, and had had the services of good writers, including that same Jonson, owed its immortalization to one of its less distinguished members, Settle.

Settle was accustomed, on relevant occasions, to refer to himself as "City Poet". Here the term has been avoided, on account of ambiguities attaching to its use. Meaning, simply, a poet who wrote in the service of the City, it would seem to be unexceptionable. But more is involved: the term

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1. H.Morley, Bartholomew Fair. p.370.
2. ibid. p.372.
3. ibid. p.373.
4. A.Pope, Dunciad. Bk.1. ll.85/98. cf.p. 49

as most frequently used implies the existence of an office, analogous to that of City Carpenter, or City Chronologer. Settle himself used the term, not only on the title pages of occasional poems for prominent members of the City[1], but also in a private letter[2] to Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor in 1705, who would surely have known better than any one if the term were an impudent assumption. Settle's contemporaries seem to have accepted the term without question. John Dennis, writing before Settle's death, but after the end of mayoral pageantry, said that

> Mr. SETTLE, who is now the City Poet, was formerly a Poet of the Court[3].

Rather later, John Wilkes, conversing with Johnson, was certainly under the impression that Settle had held an office, and Johnson did not contest the point.

"We have", said Wilkes,

> no City-Poet now: that is an office which has gone into disuse. The last was Elkanah Settle.... JOHNSON. I suppose, Sir, Settle did as well[4] for Aldermen in his time, as John Home could do now.

The term was, in fact, used freely, if not authoritatively, of Settle in connection with his work for the Lord Mayors' Shows.[5]

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1. Augusta Triumphans. 1714; Augusta Lacrymans. 1709.
2. Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, B. 361.
3. J. Dennis, Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer. 1717. Preface, sig. A4v.
4. J. Boswell, Life of Johnson, O.U.P. 1953, p.774 (15 May, 1776)
5. cf. also Langbaine ed. Gildon, Lives and Characters of the English Dramatists, 1712. p.140; J. Granger, A Biographical History of England. 1775. 4 vols. v.3.p.101.

Theophilus Cibber, writing twenty years after Settle's death, was still more definite in his assertion that

> Our poet possessed a pension from the City Magistrates, for an annual Panegyric to celebrate the Festival of the Lord Mayor[1],

but it is very doubtful if any credence is to be attached to his view. Certainly the records for the individual Companies show that Settle was paid by them for Shows organized for them[2]; but a fee is a very different matter in principle from a salary. This is the extent of the verified records[3], and the very existence of the Companies' accounts recording individual payments of fees renders the parallel payment of a regular annual sum improbable, and it is fairly safe to conclude that if any such office as that of City Poet existed, it was honorary. And in Settle's own case, the balance of evidence is swung towards the existence of such an office by his assumption of the title in his letter to Sir Thomas Rawlinson and by the fact that in an age of satire, in which Settle was a principal butt, it was not suggested that he was inventing even this humble title in order to give himself a little credit.

1.T.Cibber,The Lives of the Poets.1753.4 vols.v.3.p.352.
2.cf.Drapers' Hall MS.+178,1691; Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry Account,1699.
3.C.W.Wallace,Evolution of English Drama.1918.p.18f, makes a claim for Settle's payment, but neither cites references nor distinguishes between fee and salary. R.Withington, English Pageantry.v.2.p.69/70, found no reference to a salary in the Guildhall records. I have found none at the Corporation Records Office.

There remains the question of Settle's predecessors. The term City Poet was used of Tatham, the first of the post-Restoration pageant poets, by Winstanley, writing in 1686,[1] and although there is no evidence either way, there is nothing intrinsically implausible in the view that after the Restoration there was unofficially reasonable security of tenure: which is all that such an honorary position comes to. Before the war, the position was different. Then rivalry was common and displacement very possible, so that the term has no, or a misleading, meaning, and is best replaced by Jonson's "Pageant poet"?[2]

The two indispensable craftsmen - the poet and the artificer - have so far been discussed, in their relationship to the Lord Mayor's Show, separately. But the relationship between the two is obviously of some importance. It is impossible to make an easy generalization: to say that one was the directing spirit and that the other followed his leadership. In fact, relations and relative importance varied considerably during the course of the century. The division of work between the two may be taken

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1.W.Winstanley, Lives of the Most Famous English Poets. 1687.p.190.
2.cf. p.129.

at its most logical twice in the century, once before the war, and once after. Jonson was paid for the device and speech, and the artificer for making the pageants;[1] Jordan was paid

> for his contrivance of the Pageants and their descripc̃ons and two hundred and fifty books [2]

and the artificer

> for the making of ffower Pageants; and the carrying of them and all other appurtnnc̃[2]

But this balance was rare. Right at the beginning of the period the poet was entirely in the ascendancy, if we can trust a contemporary statement that Peele

> had all the ouersight of the Pageants[3].

Even if correct, the remark is perhaps open to the charge of vagueness, but it cannot do less than indicate Peele's primacy.[4] Munday's assumption of the task of costuming the players[5] could not reasonably be held to encroach on the artificer's province, but Middleton, in 1617, assumed the direction of the whole Show[6]. Both these were exceptions, however; but they indicate the general strength of the poets' position. Never, at this time, did the poets lose their natural prerogative: the invention of the

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1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Yeomanry accompt. 1604.
2. Drapers' Hall MS+178.f.156. cf.ff.145,151,169.
3. G. Peele, Merrie Conceited Iests. 1627. p.7.
4. Contrast the association of later pageants with Jerman rather than Tatham. See pp.
5. cf. p.
6. Grocers' Hall MS.117.f.15v.

device. Jonson was paid for his device; Munday invented it and Middleton wrote the account of it in 1613[1], and Dekker in 1610 wrote the account of the device he had invented[2]. It was not until the advent of the Christmas family that there seems to have been a genuine partnership, with no question of precedence. Both Grocers' and Drapers' records indicate payment of the whole sum due to, say,

> Mr Thomas Middleton Garrett Christmas and Anthony Munday[3],

who jointly produced the Show. The harmony that prevailed is reflected in the eulogies of Christmas that were printed by successive poets year after year at the end of their pamphlets. Middleton paid a high compliment in restrained terms when he made acknowledgments to

> Master Garret Crismas, an't Exquisite Master in his Art, and a Performer aboue his Promises[4].

Dekker, reserving to himself the initial creative act, is also complimentary. "Let it", he says,

> be no Ostentation in Me the Inuentor, to speak thus much in praise of the workes, that for many yeares, none haue beene able to Match them for curiosity: They are not Vast, but Neate, and Comprehend as much Arte for Architecture, as can be bestowed vpon such little Bodies. The commendations of which must liue vppon Mr. Gerard Chrismas the Father, and Mr. Iohn Chrismas the Sonne[5].

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1. Grocers' Hall MS.117.f.6.
2. R.T.D.Sayle, Lord Mayors Pageants.p.103.
3. Drapers' Hall MS.178.f.26. cf.Grocers' Hall MS.117.f.21v.
4. T.Middleton, Trivmphs of Honor and Vertue.1622.sig.C3.
5. T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor.1628.sig.C2v.

Heywood's praises were even higher than these:

> I come last to the Artist, the Moddellor and Composer of these seuerall Peeces, Maister Gerard Christmas, of whom (si paruis componere, magna licet) as Augustus Caesar, speaking of Rome, boasted, that hee found it of Bricke, but hee left it built of Marble; So he who found these Pageants and Showes of Wicker and Paper, rather appearing monstrous and prodigious Births, then any Beast (presented in them) in the least kind imitating Nature: hath reduc't them to that solidity and substance for the Materialls, that...the weathering of many Winters can not impeach them: and for their excellent Figures and well-proportioned lineaments, (by none preceding him) that could be sayd to bee paralleld: In regard therefore there bee so many strangers of all Countries, and such as can iudge of Workemanship, come to be spectators of these Annual Triumphs, I could wish that the vndertaking thereof might be hereafter conferd (for the Honour of the Citty) vpon men like able and sufficient. For his owne particular I conclude: Hunc aliquis vix imitando superare potest.[1]

Heywood's affection for Christmas was such that he continued to praise the dead master as well as his sons who succeeded him[2]. Heywood was especially generous in the praise he bestowed on artificers with whom he worked. His collaborator in the masque of 1634[3] was Inigo Jones, who also received from the pen of Heywood a splendid eulogy[4]. But the friendship between him and the Christmas family was mutual, as is attested by the sons' payment for the third of the engraved plates included in The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells.

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1. T. Heywood, Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo. 1632. Reprinted Theatre Miscellany, Luttrell Society. 1953. p. 45.
2. T. Heywood, Porta Pietatis. 1638. sig. C2v.
3. cf. p. 153|4.
4. T. Heywood, Loves Mistresse. 1636. sig. A2v.

Nevertheless it is possible that with Heywood the status of the poet underwent a serious deterioration. The Drapers who in the previous decade had paid poet and artificer jointly now paid, both in 1638 and 1639, nearly £200 to John and Matthias Christmas among whose manifold obligations was

> to dischardge M^r^ Thomas Heywood y^e^ Poett for writing y^e^ booke[1],

while the Haberdashers' accounts do not so much as mention Heywood in either 1631 or 1632. The Ironmongers' accounts are ambiguous. In 1635

> Iohn Christmas & Thomas Haywood/presented their Invencon of 5 pageante...w^ch^..they offered to make...to the Comp^as^ liking[2].

Heywood and Christmas had evidently consulted together beforehand and were working as a partnership. But the Ironmongers were accustomed to demand signatures to such agreements, and this one was signed, not by John Christmas and Thomas Heywood, but by John and Matthias Christmas.[2] Yet six years previously when

> xpmas and Decker pnted them w^th^ a plott wherein was contayned 6 seuerall Pageants [3]

the Ironmongers received the signature of Dekker as well as of Christmas. It is likely, therefore, that Heywood was not a contracting party but merely

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1. Drapers' Hall MS. +188.f.99.
2. Malone Society Collections, vol.3.p.123.
3. ibid.p.115.

an employee of Christmas, and that the excellent personal relations between the parties concealed the deterioration in the status of the poet.

Of the poets after the war, Tatham and Taubman were in a weak position. In 1659, when the unrest in London threatened the appearance of the Show, it was the artificer Jerman, not the poet Tatham, with whom the Grocers' Assistants thrice consulted.[1] Two years later they instituted negotiations with Jerman alone for the contriving of the Show?[2] According to the records Taubman played only a minor part in his first Show of 1685. A week before the Ironmongers' records mention him, Richard Wallis and Charles Williams appeared before the Court for the third time with

several draughts, wch were approved of, and the comittee ordered them to proceed accordingly[3].

Taubman is noticed only respecting the songs[3], though his pamphlet, London's Annual Triumph, included three speeches as well as very full descriptions.

Jordan and Settle were at least sometimes much stronger. The Drapers' Company invariably credited them with the contrivance of the pageants[4], and for Jordan this included

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1.Grocers' Hall MS. 775. pp.475,477,478.
2.Grocers' Hall MS. 775. p.573.
3.J.Nicholl,Account of Ironmongers.p.304/5.
4.Drapers' Hall MS.#178. ff.145,151,156,169.

Structure, Figure, Speech, and Melody[1].

Settle may at times have sunk to a position similar to that of Tatham and Taubman. He himself, in the last of the whole series of elaborate Lord Mayors' Shows, both suggested this and triumphantly vindicated the role of the poet.

> I have had the Satisfaction of not being called to the Painter's Council in the Projection,

he says in the Dedication to the Lord Mayor of

> The Triumphs of London, 1708,

> but he to mine; whilst reflecting on the poorer Performance in too many preceding City Triumphs...I have endeavoured to amend that Fault[2].

1.E.Settle, Triumphs of London.1708. sig.C.

IV. THE PAGEANTRY: A STUDY IN SELECTED RELATIONS:

The pageantry of the London Lord Mayors' Shows was a late result of modes of thinking and feeling established in the Middle Ages, but profoundly modified, first by the Renaissance, and then by the immediate requirements of a civic occasion. The pastoral scene of the Lord Mayor's Show, for example, was normally doubly removed from its ancestor the medieval religious shepherds' scene: by the influence of the classical, secular, idyllic Renaissance pastoral, and by the necessity to connect pastoral scenes with, usually, the Drapers' and Clothworkers' Company. Similarly, a pageant indicating kinship between the great trading bodies of London had formerly shown the descent of a great dynasty and before that had been the Tree of Jesse itself. The first of these influences transformed most European pageantry, and allied representational arts. The second had a more limited, but nevertheless extensive, effect, since many of the great trading cities, especially those of the Low Countries and of Northern Italy, held their own civic pageants. In these circumstances, any attempt to show the relation between the London Lord Mayors' Shows and general European pageantry is impossibly ambitious. At the other extreme, to describe the individual pageants and to group them into categories -allegorical, hist-

orical, trade, classical pageants - is merely to dot the i's and cross the t's of work already admirably performed. Two series of pageants, however, insistently demand notice as standing in special relations to the Lord Mayors' Shows. The first is the series of royal entries into London. More spectacular and splendid than the Midsummer Shows, these entries, like the Lord Mayors' Shows, were English and took place in London. The writers who developed the Lord Mayor's Show, from Peele to Heywood, grew up in the shadow of the last of the Tudors while some of them helped to prepare the royal entry of the first of the Stuarts. On general grounds, then, the Lord Mayor's Show is likely particularly to resemble, and on certain occasions to be directly indebted to, the English royal entries. This will apply to the Lord Mayor's Show especially in its character of an expression of praise of the Lord Mayor and his office, and of interest in his performance of that office. The other claimant on our notice is of a different kind: whereas the royal entries were English but not civic, the Antwerp annual procession, the Ommegang, was civic but not English. It is more important for the Lord Mayor's Show than other foreign or English pageantry for several reasons. The common eminence of London and Antwerp as trading cities, an eminence owed in part by both to the important rivers upon

whose banks they were situated, gave devisers of pageants similar contexts to which to relate material held more or less in common with the rest of Europe. Here the connections will probably be particularly evident in trade pageantry. The close trading relations between England and the Low Countires ensured that Englishmen would in the normal course of their business see Flemish pageantry in general and that of Antwerp, the most flourishing city of all, in particular. This is a possible channel for direct imitation. These considerations alone justify a study of the relation between the two series of Shows, but such a study is made imperative by the claim that has been made for the Antwerp Ommegang as the source of the London Lord Mayor's Show.[1]

[1] L.F.W.Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants. 1843. Percy Society Publications. v.10. p.ix. "the ancient processions of the trades of Antwerp, furnished us with the prototypes of much of the pageantry formerly exhibited in the early mayoralty processions of London; for the similarity between them is, as I shall be presently enabled to show, too striking to be the result of accident."

A. The Lord Mayor's Show and Renaissance London Royal Entries.

The sixteenth century London royal entries were organized in honour of an important person, involved large numbers of pageants, illustrated by speeches, and at least one included a fully developed show by water. A comparison of royal entry and Lord Mayor's Show indicates how far the form, content, and method were already developed in the sixteenth century, at the end of which the Lord Mayor's Show in the hands of Peele comprised but a single tableau.

Anne Boleyn's Coronation Show took place at Whitsuntide, 1533, and included pageants on the Thames as well as on land, displayed on different days. The civic and royal occasions are explicitly connected by Holinshed, who comments that the Haberdashers,

> of which craft the maior sir Stephan Pecocke then was[1],

made preparations

> as they vse to doo when the maior is presented at Westminster on the morrow after Simon and Iude[1].

As on Lord Mayor's Day each major Company provided a barge, and the mayor's barge was equipped with musical instruments and

> garnished with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and richlie couered[1].

There were two more properly spectacular effects: a

> foist or wafter full of ordinance, in which foist was a great dragon continuallie moouing and casting wild fire[1],

1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 1587. v.3. p.930. cf. ibid. p.1172.

and

> another foist, in the which was a mount, and on the same stood a white falcon crowned, vpon a roote of gold inuironed with white roses and red, which was the queens deuise; about which mount sat virgins singing and plaieng sweetlie[1].

A century later the Lord Mayors' water displays

were still more notable for their sound than for anything else. William Smythe had noted a ship

> Rigged lyke a shippe of warre, with dyvers peces or ordenances[2]

in 1575, and Dekker's complaint suggests that the noise of gunfire was more popular then the sound of music. In 1612 he devised one

> altogether Musicall, but Times Glasse could spare no Sand, nor lend conuenient Howres for the performance of it[3],

although, on the same occasion, there were shows of which Dekker said that,

> Apollo hauing no hand in them, I suffer them to dye by that which fed them; that is to say, Powder & Smoake. Their thunder (according to the old Gally-foyst-fashion) was too lowd for any of the Nine Muses to be bidden to it[3].

The custom of placing pieces of ordnance on the banks of the Thames to be discharged at intervals gave further prominence to the more military type of water show. Dekker's allusion to the Muses may have some bearing on the subject of the musical device for which there

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1. ibid. p.780. cf. Halle, Union. f. CCxiii. (All Halle references are to his account of King Henry VIII)
2. Quoted in R.T.D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p.9.
3. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans. 1612. sig. Dv.

was not time. The Nine Muses on the Mount of Parnassus were the subject of Squire's second water pageant.[1] Mercury stood behind the Mount listening as the ship bearing it.

> accompanied the Lord Maior vp to Westminster with variety of musique.

Melpomene, Talia, and Euterpe played the theorbo-lute, viol, and flute-recorder respectively, while Apollo himself

> sate on the top of the Mount in a cloth of gold[1];

on the return journey from Westminster there was singing. This pageant is fundamentally the same as Anne's musical water pageant. The principal difference between them - the presence of a white falcon, crowned, upon a root of gold, on the summit of the one mount, and Apollo with his harp on the other - is far less important than the common feature of

> a mount...about which...sat virgins singing and plaieng sweetlie.

Two days after the water show Anne saw the pageants on land held in her honour. At Leadenhall there was a pageant of

> a rote of golde set on a little mountaine enuironed with red roses & white....came doune an Angell with great melody and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcons head, and in the same pageaut satte saint Anne

1. J. Squire, Tryumphs of Peace. sig. B.

with all her issue beneth her, and vnder Mari Cleoph satte her iiii. children[1].

The fundamental identity of these two successive 1533 pageants with each other and with Squire's in the next century illustrates the fatal defect of these great Shows: inevitable monotony in spite of endless variations. No doubt the land and water Mounts in 1533 were physically the same structure. This curious thriftiness among so much conspicuous waste persists in pageantry, and is noticeable in the most extravagant of all the Lord Mayors' Shows. In Middleton's Triumphs of Truth, the elaborate

> fiue Islands art-fully garnished with all manner of Indian Fruite-Trees, Drugges, Spiceries, and the like, the middle Island with a faire Castle especially beautified[2],

were made to do double duty, first on the water and then on the land. As the angel had added new interest to Anne's Mount when it appeared at Leadenhall, so, when Middleton's pageant was shown in St.Paul's Churchyard,

> vpon the heighth of these fiue Ilands sit fiue persons representing the fiue Sences[3].

The quotations show that the islands were simply spectacular variants on the mountain, above the water and clearly visible from the land, and thus specially

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1.E.Halle,Vnion.f.CCxiiij verso.
2.T.Middleton,Triumphs of Truth.1613.sig.B. cf.T.Heywood,Londons Ius Honorarium.Works.v.4.pp.270 & 276.
3.T.Middleton,Triumphs of Truth.sig.B4r.

suitable for water shows. Webster's Show presented a further ingenious variant on the Mount on water in

> a faire Terrestiall Globe, Circled about in conuenient Seates, with seauen of our most famous Nauigators: as, Sr. Francis Drake, Sr. Iohn Haukins, Sr. Martine Furbisher, Sr. Humfery Gilbert, Captaine Thomas Cauendish, Captaine Christopher Carlile, and Captaine Iohn Dauis.[1]

This globe furnishes an example of a tableau that was ornamental rather than closely related to some purpose of exhortation or praise of the Lord Mayor or sovereign. Such tableaux were fairly common in both the royal entries and the Lord Mayors' Shows. The allegorical pageant of the Seven Liberal Sciences, formed from medieval materials, was prominent in the sixteenth century in Edward VI's coronation Show[2], and Dekker presented it, with variations, in both 1612[3] and 1629[4], while in Munday's Himatia-Poleos, 1614,

> the imaginarie shapes of the seauen liberall Sciences, each one distinguished by their true charracter[5],

must have appeared striking as they attended on the water

> the supposed shadow of Sir Iohn Norman[6].

Similar tableaux formed part of the Shows of 1676[7] and 1687.[8] The classical pageant of the Nine Muses,

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1. J. Webster, Monuments of Honor, 1624. (Photostat in R. T. D. Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants, after p. 116.)
2. ~~Holinshed, Chronicle~~. J. Leland, Collectanea. 9 vols. London. 1770. (v. iv, pp. 315/7)
3. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans. sig. B2/B2v.
4. T. Dekker, Londons Tempe. sig. C/Cv.
5. A. Munday, Himatia-Poleos. 1614. p. 9.
6. ibid. p. 8.
7. T. Jordan, London's Triumph. 1676. p. 5/6.
8. M. Taubman, London's Triumph. 1687. p. 9.

that also remained much the same in both centuries, was ornamental. John Squire's water-pageant[1], compares very closely with the spectacle Anne saw at Gracious church corner in 1553; on Mount Parnassus

> satte Apollo and at his feete satte Calliope, and on euery syde of the mountain satte iiii. Muses plaiyng on seueral swete instrumentes[2].

The tableau of the Golden Fleece, though decorative in the royal entries, was integrally related to certain Lord Mayors' Shows. It appeared in the celebrations marking the entry into London of the Emperor Charles V in 1522[3], when it was an early example of the classical element in London pageantry[4]; the same year the Drapers' Company decided to

> renew all the old pageants for the house; including our newe pageant of the Goldyn Flees for the may^r against midsom^r[5].

The story of the Golden Fleece is peculiarly appropriate to Drapers' trade pageantry, and it is not therefore surprising that seventeenth century Drapers' Lord Mayors' Shows included such a tableau frequently.[6]

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1. cf. pp. 199/200.
2. E. Halle, Vnion. f. CCxiiij verso.
3. ibid. f. lxxxxvi verso. cf. R. Withington, English Pageantry. i, p. 18.
4. cf. Withington. i, p. 179. But see Drapers' Hall MS Drapers' Wardens' Accounts 1511/12, f. 6a: "iij pagents that is to say Saynt Blythe. Achilles. and thassumpcion".
5. Malone Society, Collections. vol. 3. p. 11.
6. e.g. A. Munday, Metropolis Coronata. sig. A3v/A4; T. Middleton, Health and Prosperity. sig. A4v/Bv; T. Heywood, Londini Status Pacatus. sig. B4v/Cv.

Many resemblances between entry and Lord Mayor's Show are the direct result of a similarity of purpose; the praise, and sometimes the exhortation to duty, of the magistrate or sovereign. There are examples of the same use of the same material. The tableau of Pallas, Juno, and Venus bringing gifts signified in 1533 the

> wisedome, riches, and felicitie[1]

of Anne, and in Sir Christopher Clitheroe's Show a hundred and two years later the power, wisdome, and love of

> him to whom they are devoted[2].

Holinshed's hostility does not obscure the fact that Orpheus was envisaged as

> The Hieroglyphick of good Government[3]

by those who planned Philip's ceremonial entry. Then

> Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and sauage beasts following after Orpheus harpe, and dansing after king Philips pipe.[4]

In exactly the same way the 1656 Puritan pamphlet claims

> That as Orpheus tam'd the wild Beasts by the alluring sound of his melody; so doth a just and

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1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3,982.
2. T. Heywood, Londini Sinus Salutis. Works. 4,289.
3. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection. p. 4.
4. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3.1131. cf. R.Withington, English Pageantry. 1.193 and note.

an upright Governour tame and govern the wild affect-
ions of men, by good and wholesome Lawes.[1]

The pageant of the Tree of Jesse is more complicated. In continental pageantry[2] it remained what it had been in medieval iconography: the genealogical table of the ancestry of Our Lord. In England in 1522 the idea of the ancestral tree was adapted to the glory and honour of the visiting Emperor:

> at the fote of the pagiant sat Ihon duke of Lancastre called Ihon of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the third. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leaues which by pollicie dropped sweete water, and on euery braunche satte a kyng and a quene or some other noble parsonage descended of the seyd duke, to the nomber of lv. images, and on the toppe stode the Emperor[3].

This complete secularization was a major development in the history of this tableau, and Dekker's device of a tree with twelve branches, each of which bore the arms of one of the major City Companies[4], was a mere modification, in terms of trade, not blood, relationships. But Dekker's Tree was unusual, among the versions of the Tree of Jesse in the Lord Mayors' Shows, in preserving the notion of relationship at all, and even Dekker emphasized the idea of community rather than that of descent. One of the best sixteenth cen-

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1. T.M.Londons Triumph. sig. B3v; cf. T.Middleton, Loue and Antiquity. sig. BV/B2; T.Jordan, London's Resurrection.pp.3/5; M.Taubman, Londons Great Jubilee. pp.11/13,has Amphion,not Orpheus, but the same pageant.
2. cf. fig.
3. Hall, Vnion. f. lxxxxvi.
4. D.Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. Bv.

tury tableaux had preserved the form of the Tree of Jesse, but had quite transformed its content. A child representing, indirectly, Queen Elizabeth, sat in a chair at the foot of a palm tree. She was

> Debora the Iudge and restorer of the house of Israel. Iudic.4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with 6. personages: two representing the Nobilitie, two the Cleargy, and two the Comminaltie. And before these personages, was written in a table, Debora with her estates consulting for the good gouernment of Israel.[1]

This allegorical use of the form of the Tree of Jesse is to some extent paralleled in Munday's

> Leman tree, in full and ample forme, richly laden with the fruite and flowers it beareth[2],

at the foot of which was the nest of a pelican with her brood, interpreted here as

> An excellent type of gouernment in a Magistrate, who, at his meere entrance into his yeares Office, becommeth a nursing father[3].

But the parallel is very faint: the Lemon Tree itself is introduced simply to refer directly to the name of the Lord Mayor, Sir John Lemon, and the allegorical method is used in a quite different connection: the traditional symbol of the devoted pelican. There is a trace of Munday's "Morall methode" in one of Middleton's Shows, when, after the speech interpreting the Pageant of Several Nations,

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1. The Royall Passage. sig.C3v/C4. B.M. C.33.e.7(11).
2. A.Munday, Chrysanaleia. 1616. sig.B2.
3. ibid.

for a good Omen of the Euerlasting continuance of it,

[international amity] on the top of this curious and triumphant Pageant, shoots vp a Laurell tree...about which sit six celestial figures, presenting Peace, Prosperity, Loue, Vnity, Plenty, & Fidelity[1].

But this pageant is less integral and nearer pure decoration than any other.

In these cases there is little or no question of imitation: the resemblances arose out of the possession of a stock of common material used for similar purposes. On one occasion, however, Heywood deliberately adapted to his very similar purposes one of the most striking of Elizabeth's tableaux: a square pageant with battlements, bearing two hills, standing before the little conduit in Cheapside. One

> was made fayre, fresh, greene, and beautifull, the ground thereof full of flowres and beauty, and on the same was erected also one Tree, very fresh and fayre, vnder the which, stood vpright one fresh personage, well apparelled & appoynted, whose name also was written both in English and Latine: which was, Respublica bene instituta: A flourishing Common-wealth. And vpon the same Tree also, were fixed certayne Tables, contayning Sentences, which expressed the causes of a flourishing Common-wealth. In the middle betweene the sayd hilles, was made artificially one hollow place or Caue, with doore and locke enclosed, out of the which, a little before the Queenes Highnesse comming thither, issued one personage, whose name was Time,...leading...Temporis filia, The daughter of Time. Which two...went forward toward the South side of the Pageant: and on her brest was written her proper name, which was, Veritas, Trueth...The sentences written in Latine, and englished...declaring the causes...[of a flourishing Common weale] were these...Feare of God, Obedient Subiects, A wise Prince, Louers of the Common-weale, Learned Rulers, Vertue rewarded, Obedience to Officers, Vice chastened.[2]

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1. T.Middleton, Honor and Industry. sig.Bv.
2. The Royall Passage. sig.C.

The other hill

> was made cragged, barraine, and stony; in the which was erected one Tree, artificially made, all wythered and dead, with braunches accordingly. And vnder the same Tree...sate one in homely and rude apparell crookedly, ...his name...was Ruinosa Res-publica: A decayed Common-wealth.[1]

The first land-show of Heywood's Show, Londons Ius Honorarium,

> is a greene and pleasant Hill, adorned with all the Flowers of the spring, upon which is erected a faire and flourishing tree, furnished with variety of faire and pleasant fruite, under which tree, and in the most eminent place of the Hill, sitteth a woman of beautiful aspect, apparrelled like Summer: Her motto, Civitas bene Gubernata. i. a Citty well governed. Her Attendants (or rather Associats) are three Damsels habited according to their qualitie, and representing the three Theologicall vertues, Faith, Hope, and Charity: Amongst the leaves and frùits of this Tree, are inscerted diverse labels with severall sentences expressing the causes which make Cities to flourish and prosper: As, The feare of God, Religious zeale, a Wise Magistrate, Obedience to rulers, Vnity, Plaine and faithfull dealing, with others of the like nature. At the foot of the Hill sitteth old Time, and by him his daughter Truth, with this inscription; Veritas est Temporis Filia, i. Truth is the Daughter of Time. [In the course of his immediately following speech] Time maketh a pause, and taking up a leave-lesse & withered branch, thus proceedeth.
>
> See you this withered branch, by Time o're growne
> A Cities Symbole, ruind, and trod downe.[2]

Of the detailed resemblances, only the tell-tale remnant of the 1559 barren hill is impressive in itself. Time and his daughter Truth were common figures, tableaux were frequently made clearer by affixed labels, while the somewhat troubled 1630's were as

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1. The Royall Passage. sig. C3v/C4.
2. T. Heywood, Londons Ius Honorarium. Works. 4. 272/5.

likely as the first year of Elizabeth's reign to give rise to such a sombre conception as lies behind Heywooed's pageant. But all the parallels taken together establish fairly certainly that Heywood borrowed this idea from Elizabeth's pageantry, and ended by producing a close imitation. His full description[1] in Englands Elizabeth shows him to have been well acquainted with her coronation display.

A strongly marked moral bias is more characteristic of Elizabeth's coronation Show than of the other royal entries, and of Peele's and Heywood's[2] Lord Mayors' Shows are especially striking in this respect, though other mayoral displays are not devoid of such bias. An apparent parallel between one of Elizabeth's pageants and Peele's Descensus Astraeae may be simply an example of the similar working out of the same Protestant assumptions. Superstition and Ignorance were presented in 1559 as being among the vices suppressed by Elizabeth's virtues:

> While that religion true, shall ignorance suppresse,
> And with hir weightie foot, breake superstitions head...
> So long shall gouernement not swarue from hir right race[3].

Peele similarly presents Ignorance, a priest, and Superstition, a friar, as enemies dominated by Astraeae, Elizabeth, who is placed on top of the pageant.[4] A

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1. T.Heywood, Englands Elizabeth. pp.224/234.
2. Londons Ius Honorarium. Works. 4.272/3; Londini Sinus Salutis. Works. 4.296/8.
3. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3.1174.
4. G.Peele, Descensus Astraeae. p.4/5.

further instance of possible influence turns out on investigation to have a different inspiration. The eight Beatitudes were personified both in 1559[1] and in Middleton's Triumphs of Integrity[2] towards the end of James's reign. The Triumphs of Integrity is not otherwise remarkable for a religious or moral bias and this particular personification is uncommon in mayoral pageantry. But flattery of the reigning sovereign is intended, for the King's motto was Beati Pacifici.

Certain tableaux have a comparable effect, although they are visually contrasting in both form and content. The lessons to be drawn from Elizabeth's "seat of worthie gouernance"[3] and Middleton's Castle of Fame, as authoritatively expounded in the one case by Holinshed and in the other by Middleton, are identical. Holinshed carefully explains that

> The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which doo abundantlie appeare in hir grace) the queenes maiestie was established in the seat of gouernment: so she shuld sit fast in the same, so long as she imbrased vertue, and held vice vnder foot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the seat of gouernement in perill of falling[4].

The pageant itself was Petrarchan:

> a child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their feet[3].

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1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3. 1175.
2. T. Middleton, Triumphs of Integrity. 1623. Works. ed. Bullen. 7. 393/4.
3. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3. 1174.
4. ibid. 3. 1175.

Middleton, in place of virtues crushing vices, presented two figures in front of the Castle of Fame. These two,

> Reward and Industry deckt in bright Robes, keepe a Seate betweene them for him to whom the Dayes honour is dedicated[1].

On the Lord Mayor's approach Reward offers him this seat, and has to be restrained by Justice's reminder that

> Great works of Grace must be requird and done,
> Before the honor of this Seate be won.
> A whole yeeres reuerend care in righting wrongs,
> And guarding Innocence from malicious tongues,
> Must be imployde in Vertues sacred right,
> Before this place be fild[2].

The resemblance between the two pageants, and their interpretations, lies in their purpose: to exalt the office of the ruler, while indicating that the triumph of performance is not yet achieved.

The tableaux in honour of the person of the sovereign or Lord Mayor often pursue a punning method. The hope that Anne Boleyn would bear heirs to the throne of England was understood from the pageant of

> saint Anne with all her issue beneth her[3],

although the two ladies had only their names in common. More extremely still, Holinshed neglected an obvious interpretation of a 1559 pageant - comprising three platforms, on which were: Elizabeth of York and Henry Vll; Henry Vlll and Anne Boleyn; Queen Elizabeth - in terms

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1. T.Middleton, Honor and Industry. sig.B3.
2. ibid. sig.B4.
3. Halle, Vnion. f.CCxiiii verso.

of the three generations of the Tudors, in favour of the sophistical view that the pageant

> was grounded vpon the queens maiesties name[1].

In the Lord Mayors' Shows there are similar examples of visual puns. The Web of the Fates in Descensus Astraeae[2] refers to the Lord Mayor Sir William Webb, just as Munday's

> singular Embleme...A Leman tree[3]

refers to Sir John Leman. In Middleton's Wilderness in 1619 his Orpheus had to share the limelight with

> an Artificiall Cocke, often made to crow, and flutter with his wings[4],

that alluded - the explanatory verses are explicit on the point - to Sir William Cockayne. Dekker's Camp-bell, or the Ironmongers Faire Feild, was a~~n alliterative~~ pun on the French words into which the name of the Lord Mayor might be distorted.

In certain incidental respects aspects of the Lord Mayors' Shows had precedents in the sixteenth century royal entries. Giants were common in the royal entries and not rare in Lord Mayors' Shows. Two giants seem to have been traditional in England for a long time. At the reception for Charles V, they bore classical and Biblical names:

> Hercules, with a mightie Clubbe in his hande, and... Sampson, with the Iawe bone of an Asse in his hande[5].

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1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3. 1173. 2. sig A 4. r.
3. A. Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. B2.
4. T. Middleton, Loue and Antiquity. sig. B2.
5. Halle, Vnion. f. lxxxv verso.

It was for King Philip's progress[1] that they first received the names of Corineus and Gogmagog, and they retained them at Queen Elizabeth's Coronation.[2] These were the names traditionally associated with the giants kept in the Guildhall;[3] though the giants that appeared in the Lord Mayors' Shows rarely bore these names on those occasions, at any rate as far as the descriptive pamphlets are a guide. Perhaps they received the names from association with the most ambitious of the very early Shows, The Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania of 1605, and perhaps the earlier appearances of the giants under these names in turn inspired Munday to make the conquest of Albion by Brutus, whose most dramatic episode was the duel of the giants, the basis for his Show. On his arrival, Brutus,

> searching the land ouer from side to side, found it to be very fertile, and inhabited by vnciuill, monstrous huge men of stature, tearmed Giants, whom he with his bolde and resolued companions slew and destroyed. One of them named Goemagot or Gogmagog, exceeding the rest in strength and courage, Brute caused Corineus, one of his confederates, to wrastle with the said Goemagot at a place beside Douer, where the Giant hapned to break a rib in the side of Corineus, which so sharply incensed him, that redoubling his power to win the victory, he threw him headlong downe from off one of the Rocks, which place was after called Gogmagogs leape. The Gyant being thus dispatched, in reward of this honourable piece of seruice, Brute gaue vnto Corineus a part of his lande, which according to his name, was, and yet is vnto this day, caled Cornwall.[4]

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1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3. 1120 2. ibid. 3. 1178.
3. W. Hone, Ancient Mysteries Described. 1823. pp. 272/276.
4. A. Munday, Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania. sig. A3.

Certainly not all who saw the Show read the descriptive pamphlet, yet it is on this "historical" background that Munday seems to have lavished especially loving care. The giants were, however, sufficiently prominent in the Show itself:

> Corineus and Goemagot, appearing in the shape and proportion of huge Giants, for the more grace & beauty of the show, we place as guides to Britaniaes mount, and being fetterd vnto it in chaines of golde, they seeme (as it were) to drawe the whole frame, shewing much enuy and contention, whoe shall exceed most in duty and seruice.[1]

Dekker gave the giants different names. At the gate of

> the Forlorn Castle of Troia-Noua Triumphans

> stand Ryot and Calumny, in the shapes of Gyants, with clubs, who offer to keep back the Chariot of Vertue[2].

These giants of the earlier Shows were intended, like those of the sixteenth century, to impress as well as, or rather than, to amuse. Jordan's anonymous giants show clearly the change of taste that took place during the course of the century. They were

> two extream great Giants, each of them of at least Fifteen Foot high, that do sit and are drawn by Horses in two several Chariots, moving, talking, and taking Tobacco as they ride along[3].

The single, different, and equally anonymous giant

1656,

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1. A. Munday, Tryumphes of re-vnited Britania. sig. B.
2. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua. Sig. B4.
3. T. Jordan, London Triumphant. 1672. p. 12.

being twelve foot in height going before the Pageant for the delight of the people[1],

was there simply for entertainment value. A single giant was also used very appropriately by Taubman in a scene of Vulcan and his forge. Polypheme was there as

A Giant of a large size, one great Eye in the middle of his Fore-head[2].

Few other giants are mentioned in the descriptive pamphlets, but they may have been more important than these sources suggest. A remark in Marston's The Dutch Courtezan,[3] acted in 1605, the year of The Triumphs of re-vnited Britania, indicates that Munday's placing of them before the pageant was traditional, while a MS entry of 1604[4] both shows that there was at any rate a more than life size figure that year and suggests a reason for placing him before the pageant: he "went on stilte to make roome"[4].

Their continued existence thirty years later is attested by Shirley, who makes Clod, satirizing the Lord Mayor's Show, mention the citizens who

look upon the giants[5] -

but they are in Guildhall on that occasion.

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1. I.B., Londons Trjumph. sig. B3.
2. M. Taubman, London's Annual Triumph, 1685.p.10.
3. J.Marston, The Dutch Courtezan. sig. D4v.
4. Haberdashers' Hall MS. The yeomanry accompt. 1604.
5. J. Shirley, Contention for Honovr and Riches. 1633.sig.Cv.

Feats of activity graced both the sixteenth century coronations and the Lord Mayors' Shows of both parts of the seventeenth century. Holinshed found this aspect of the coronation celebrations of Edward VI so impressive that while he merely mentions the

> pageants in diuerse places erected[1]

he describes in full how

> an Argosine came from the battlements of the steeple of Paules church vpon a cable, being made fast to an anchor by the deanes gate, lieng on his breast, aiding himselfe neither with hand nor foot, and after ascended to the middest of the cable, where he tumbled and plaied manie pretie toies[2].

The displays at the marriage of Philip and Mary[3] and at Mary's Coronation[4] were equally alarming, and in fact on the former occasion ended in disaster.[3] The acrobatics of the earlier Lord Mayors' Shows, on the other hand, seem designed to amuse rather than to amaze. Dekker's "Glory of Furres" was

> a Chariot Triumphant...drawne by two Luzernes,... [on which] ride two Antickes, who dance to a Drum beating before them, there aptly placed.[5]

Some such diversion seems to have been customary, and there may have been a slight tendency for the third pageant to have this dubious honour. This was so in Dekker's case, and Heywood is contemptuously unspecific about the

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1. Holinshed, Chronicle. 3. 979.
2. ibid. 3. 979.
3. ibid. 3. 1131.
4. ibid. 3. 1091.
5. T. Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. B3.

third pageant, that in 1635 and 1637

> meerly consisteth of Anticke gesticulations, dances, and other Mimicke postures... in which we imitate Custome[1].

His tone in the two following years was grave, yet there certainly were acrobatics in 1639, when "Mumford y^e^ Tumbler" performed "feates and actions in Cheapeside".[2]

In Restoration years the taste for such displays continued,[3] reaching its fullest gratification when

> the much magnified Jacob Hall and his Company express the height of their Activity in Tumbling, and the like.[4]

Light entertainment and splendid spectacle were alike characteristic of both Renaissance royal and seventeenth century mayoral pageantry. But the question of influence, particularly of detailed influence, must be approached with caution. The poets who formed the Lord Mayor's Show were brought up in Elizabeth's reign and in addition could read the popular historians' accounts of royal displays. Heywood was interested in pageantry, and in his case there was specific influence. Possibly the notion of elaborate water-pageantry in the Lord Mayor's Show was inspired by an earlier royal entry. It is not, however, necessary to suppose this, and even less need one read influence into all resemblances: pageantry was a natural form of expression, and both displays celebrated important

1. T.Heywood, Londini Speculum. (Theatre Miscellany.1952.) sig. C2. cf.(for 1637) Londini Sinus Salutis. Works 4.292.
2. Drapers' Hall MS. + 178. f.99
3. Drapers' Hall MS. + 178. f.141 (1669),f.145 (1675).
4. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection. 1671. p. 20.

events. Finally, one difference should not be overlooked: the royal pageants were generally stationary and the mayoral peripatetic.

B. The Lord Mayor's Show and the Coronation Processions of James I and Charles II.

The splendid coronation passage of James I and VI came at a time when the Lord Mayor's Show was growing in size and complexity. Of the nine pageants of the royal entry two were contrived by Italians and Flemings resident in London; three by Ben Jonson; and four by Thomas Dekker, with whom Thomas Middleton co-operated at least to the extent or writing one of the longest speeches in the Show.[1] Of these writers Jonson wrote the speeches for the Lord Mayor's Show of 1604, unfortunately not extant, and three Shows of Dekker and seven of Middleton remain to show that their work for the glory of the king had considerable influence on some of their work for the glory of successive Lord Mayors. Such influence, as one might expect, is most clearly marked in their early Shows, when they were not yet, perhaps, fully sure of themselves.

Many resemblances between the royal entry of 1604 and early Lord Mayors' Shows by several different writers are not conclusive examples of influence. The appearance of Fame,[2] for example, was fairly stereotyped.-

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1. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. 1604. sig. H4/I.
2. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. sig. E3v; T. Dekker, (sig. Bv. Troia-Noua Triumphans. sig. Cv; T. Middleton, Svnne in Aries. 1621. A. Munday, Sidero-Thriambos. 1618. sig. B4.

There are several echoes in the Lord Mayors' Shows of Dekker's 1604 arbour[1], that contained, among other characters, Eirene[1], Euphoria, Chrusos[2], Pomona[3], Ceres[3], the Nine Muses[4], and the Seven Liberal Sciences[5]. But the conceptions of Peace and Plenty had something of a vogue in King James's day[6]; a man devising pageantry for a Goldsmiths' Show would naturally think of Chrusos; a quarter of a century elapsed before Dekker again used the deities Pomona and Ceres; and all these figures, like the Nine Muses and the Seven Liberal Sciences, were too well known for us, in the absence of other evidence, to assign a particular use to a specific source. The persistent re-appearance of pyramids in the Shows is similarly inconclusive[7].

The Genius Loci appeared twice in 1604. In Jonson's scene at Fen-church the Genius of the City was an old man whose appearance was fully described[8], and supported by a formidable array of references to authorities. Dekker, on the other hand, made his Genius

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1.T.Dekker,Magnificent Entertainment.sig.G/G2v.
2.cf.J.Squire,Tryumphs of Peace,1620 ;T.Middleton,Tryvmphs of Honor and Industry.1617.sig.Bv.
3.T.Dekker,Londons Tempe.1629.sig.B4v.
4.cf.p.201.
5.cf.p.202.
6.T.Middleton,Triumphs of Integrity.Works.ed.Bullen.7.394.
7.T.Dekker,Magnificent Entertainment.sigs.D3v;E2v;I3; J. Webster,Monuments of Honor.sig.Cv; T.Dekker,Britannia's Honor.sig.B4v.
8.B.Jonson,His Part.sig.A3.

an old woman[1]. Britannia's Honor[2] and The Triumphs of Truth[3] presented London as the feminine personification of a place and not as the Genius, male or female. Munday followed Jonson's example with a male Genius of London[4]. These faint parallels would barely merit mention were it not that the difference of opinion between Dekker and Jonson in 1604 became a dispute in the course of which both parties made statements about their attitudes to the preparation of these spectacles. The immediate occasion of the quarrel was probably the exclusion of Dekker's introductory pageant in favour of Jonson's.[5] Jonson approached the matter as a scholar working for scholars, not for the ignorant crowd. According to him, therefore,

> the Symboles vsed, are not, neither ought to be simply Hierogliphickes, Emblemes, or Imprese, but a mixed Character, pertaking somwhat of all, and peculierly apted to these more magnificent Inuentions: wherein the Garments and Ensignes deliuer the nature of the person, and the Word the present office. Neither was it becomming, or could it stand with the dignitie of these shewes (after the most miserable & desperate shift of the Puppits) to require a Truch-man, or (with the ignorant Painter) one to write, This is a Dog: or, This is a Hare: but so to be presented, as vpon the view they might without cloude, or obscurity declare themselves to the sharpe and learned: And for the multitude, no doubt but their grounded iudgements gazed, said it

1.T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. sig. A4v.
2.T. Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. Bv.
3.T.Middleton, Triumphsof Truth. sig. A4.
4.A.Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. B4v.
5.T.Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. sigs. A3 & B2.

was fine, and were satisfied[1].

Dekker was far from approving this aristocratic approach, and seized upon the central figure of the pageant that had ousted his own as the central point of his attack, though the attack itself is general, and far-reaching in its implications. For Dekker not the scholars but

> The multitude is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wooll-gathering, if we doo but offer to breake them with hard words. But suppose (by the way) contrary to the opinion of all the Doctors) that our Genius (in regarde the place is Feminine, and the person it selfe, drawne Figura Humana, sed Ambiguo sexu) should at this time be thrust into womans apparell. It is no Schisme: be it so: our Genius is then a Female[2].

In practice the poets of the civic pageants followed Dekker's principles rather than Jonson's, and it is quite impossible to find any consistent distinction of function made by them between emblems, hieroglyphics, and imprese[3]. On occasion, too, they sank as far as "the ignorant Painter".[4]

So far the question of whether any definite influence was exerted by the 1604 pageantry on the Lord Mayors' Shows has been answered fairly negatively. Two of these pageants, however, did in fact exert a decisive influence on the Shows of 1612 and 1613 and possibly a smaller influence on other Shows.

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1. B. Jonson, His Part. sig. b2.
2. T. Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. sig. A4v.
3. See A.F. Gilbert, Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson. 1948. p. 6.
4. e.g. T. Middleton, Trivmphs of Honor and Vertue. sig. Bv.

The first of these was "NOVA FAELIX ARABIA"[1]. Below Arabia - Britain[1]- were various personages and figures, including Fame, the three Graces, and

> fiue Mounts, swelling vp with different ascensions: vpon which sate the fiue Sences, drooping: Viz.
> 1Auditus, Hearing.
> 2Visus, Sight.
> 3Tactus, Feeling.
> 4Olfactus, Smelling
> 5Gustus, Taste.
>
> Appareled in Roabes of distinct cullours, proper to their natures; and holding Scutchions in their handes: vpon which were drawne Herogliphicall bodyes, to expresse their qualities.
>
> Some prettie distaunce from them (and as it were in the midst before them) an artificiall Lauer or Fount was erected, called the Fount of Arate (Vertue.) Sundry Pipes (like veines) branching from the body of it: the water receiuing libertie but from one place, and that very slowly.
>
> At the foote of this Fount, two personages (in greater shapes then the rest)lay sleeping: vpon their brestes stucke their names, Detractio, Obliuio: The one holdes an open Cuppe; about whose brim, a wreath of curled Snakes were winding, intimating that whatsoeuer his lippes toucht, was poysoned: the other helde a blacke Cuppe couerd, in token of an enuious desire to drowne the worth and memorie of Noble persons.[2]

Upon the approach of King James Fame spoke and sounded her trumpet, upon which

> Detraction and Obliuion throw off their iron slumber, busily bestowing all their powers to fill their cups at the Fount with their olde malitious intention to sucke it drie; But a strange and heauenly musick suddainly striking through their eares, which causing a wildnes and quicke motion in their lookes, drew them to light vpon the glorious presence of the King, they were suddainly thereby daunted and sunke downe...[3]

It seems probable that Middleton's water-show

1.T.Dekker,Magnificent Entertainment.sig.E3.
2.T.Dekker,ibid.sig.E3v.
3.T.Dekker,bid.sig.F.

of 1613 was culled from this pageant of 1604. It is true that the Five Senses were well known subjects, but the Show of 1604 strongly influenced the mayoral pageant, both directly and indirectly, in other respects[1], and the names of the Senses are given both in English and in Latin in both years. When the

> fiue Ilands, those dumbe Glories that I spake of before vpon the water,[2]

are brought ashore, Middleton describes how

> vpon the heighth of these fiue Ilands sit fiue persons representing the fiue Sences, Visus, Auditus, Tactus, Gustus, Olfactus, (or) Seeing, Hearing, Touching, Tasting, Smelling; at their feete their proper Emblemes, Aquila, Ceruus, Araneus, Simia, Canis, an Eagle, a Hart, a Spider, an Ape, a Dogge.[2]

The looming but vague figures of Detraction and Oblivion may have lingered on in Middleton's mind as the curious, shadowy, and anonymous person who

> in a cloudy Ruinous Habit Leaning vpon the Turret, at a Trumpets sounding[3], suddenly starts and wakes, and in Amazement throwes off his vnseemely Garments.[4]

The principal influence of Nova Felix Arabia, however, was in conjunction with another 1604 pageant, the Tower of Pleasure, in which both Dekker and Middleton had a hand.[5] The middle of the Tower was

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1. See pp.223/25.
2. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. sig.B4v.
3. Presumably that of Fame, who has just spoken. Sig.Bv/B2v. cf.p.221 for the same situation in 1604.
4. T.Middleton, Svnne in Aries. Sig.B2v.
5. cf.p.217 & note 1.

laid open to the world, and great reason it should be so, for the Globe of the world, was there seene to mooue, being fild with all the degrees, and states that are in the land[1].

Astraeae, or Justice, sat at the top of the pageant, and under her were Arate, or Virtue, and Fortune, whose foot rested on the globe. Envy,

> vnhandsomely attirde all in blacke, her haire of the same colour, filletted about with snakes, stood in a darke and obscure place by her selfe, neere vnto Vertue, but making shew of a fearefulnesse to approach her and the light: yet still & anon, casting her eyes, sometimes to the one side beneath, where...sate the foure cardinall vertues:...And sometimes throwing a distorted and repining countenance to the other opposite seate, on which, his Maiesties foure kingdomes were aduanced.[2]

Zeal interpreted this pageant in a speech written by Middleton some of whose sixty lines are clearly relevant to later Lord Mayors' Shows:

> Enuies infectious eyes haue lost their sight,
> Her snakes (not daring to shoot-forth their stings
> Gainst such a glorious obiect) downe she flings
> Their forkes of Venome into her owne mawe[3].

The most striking feature of both Nova Felix Arabia and The Tower of Pleasure is the presence of conflict: Detraction and Oblivion in the one and Envy in the other hate and unsuccessfully try to harm goodness, in the shape of King James or personified as Virtue. Such direct action, inhibited though it is, is rare in the intrinsically static showpieces of either

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1. T.Dekker, Magnificent Entertainment. sig.H3.
2. T.Dekker; ibid. sig.H3v.
3. T.Dekker, ibid. sig.H4v.

royal entries or Lord Mayors' Shows; far more typical of the representation of the conquest of a vice by a virtue was Jonson's device at Temple Bar that showed Mars grovelling at the feet of Peace and Tumult trod under-foot.by Quiet![1] Yet in Troia-Noua Triumphans, Dekker's Show of 1612, this open conflict between Good and Evil, again, as in the Tower of Pleasure, in the persons of Arete and Envy, re-appears, and is extended to dominate the whole Show, the Chariot of Neptune serving merely as an introduction, and the House of Fame seeming incidental. In 1604 all the personages had been enclosed within the battlemented, turretted Tower of Pleasure that seemed "some inchanted Castle"[2], and was

> erected aboue the Conduit in Fleetstreete[2].

In 1612 the

> Forlorne Castle, built close to the little Conduit in Cheapside[3],

was in the possession of Envy and her followers, who tried to attack Virtue as she rode by in her chariot, and were only prevented because she

> holding vp her bright shield, dazzles them, and confounds them, they all on a sudden shrinking in their heads, vntill the Chariot be past, and then all of them appearing againe: their arrowes, which they shoote vp into the aire, breake there out in fire-workes, as hauing no power to do wrong to so sacred a Deity as Vertue.[4]

1.B.Jonson,His Part. sig.C2/C3. 2.Dekker,Mag.Enter. sig.H3.
3.T.Dekker,Troia-Noua Triumphans. sig.B4. 4.ibid. sig.B4v.

Furious at the frustration, Envy exhorts her supporters to attack, -

> ADders shoote, hysse speckled Snakes[1] -

but their powerlessness simply gives Virtue the opportunity to taunt Envy. Even this is only the

> Triumphant assault of Enuy: her conquest is to come[2],

when, on the Lord Mayor's return from the Guildhall, Virtue's retinue

> discharge their Pistols, at which Enuy, and the rest, vanish, and are seene no more.[3]

This final conquest of Envy is a matter of a few moments, yet the continued conflict gives a certain unity to the Show, that most lacked. And the constituents of this conflict, and the germ of conflict itself, are there in Dekker's two devices of 1604.

Middleton, when asked for the first time in 1613 to prepare a Lord Mayor's Show, treated the task seriously and relied upon precedent to such a degree that he can be accused of plagiarism throughout The Triumphs of Truth. Like Dekker's Troia-Noua Triumphans of the previous year, the Show is given unity by a sustained contest between Good and Evil, this time personified by Truth and Error.[4] The water-show and the introductory pageant

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1. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans. sig. B4v. 2. ibid. sig. C.
3. ibid. sig. C4v.
4. For this formulation, and for the introduction of Truth's Angel (Truth, sig. Bv.) Jonson supplied the inspiration. (Hymenaei 1606. Fv.) Nor is this the extent of Middleton's indebtedness: his Truth is Jonson's slightly disguised. In Jonson's Hymenaei,

(cont. on p.226).

of London are irrelevant to this contest; but directly

(Notes continued from p.225.)
1606, sig.Fv/F2, Truth is fully described:

> Vpon her head she weares a Crowne of Starres,
> Through which her orient Hayre waves to her wast,
> By which beleeving Mortalls hold her fast,
> And in those golden Chordes are carried even
> Till with her breath she blowes them vp to Heaven.
> Shw weares a Roabe enchas'd with Eagles Eyes,
> To signifie her sight in Mysteries;
> Vpon each shoulder sits a milke white Dove,
> And at her feete doe witty serpents move:
> Her spacious Armes doe reach from East to West,
> And you may see her Heart shine through her breast.
> Her right hand holds a Sunne with burning Rayes,
> Her left a curious bunch of golden Kayes,
> With which Heav'n Gates she locketh, and displayes.
> A Cristall Mirror hangeth at her brest,
> By which mens Consciences are search'd, and drest:
> On her Coach wheeles Hypocrisie lies rackt;
> And squint-eyd Slander, with Vaine-Glory backt
> Her bright Eyes burne to duste: in which shines Fate.
> An Angel vshers hir triumphant Gate,
> Whilst with her fingers Fannes of Starres shee twists,
> And with them beates backe Error, clad in mists.

Middleton's Truth is the most elaborate figure in his Shows but is nevertheless a simplified version of Jonson's.

> That Crowne of Starres showes her descent from heauen;
> That Roabe of white fild all with Eagles eies,
> Her piercing sight through hidden mysteries;
> Those milke-white Doues her spotlesse Innocence;
> Those Serpents at her feete her victory showes
> Ouer deceite and guile, her rankest foes,
> And by that Cristall Mirrour at her Brest,
> The cleerenesse of her Conscience is exprest;
> And showing that her deeds all darkenesse shun,
> Her Right-hand holds Truths Symbole, the bright Sunne;
> A Fan of Starres shee in the other twists,
> With which shee chaceth away Errors mists (sig.B3v/B4.).

Middleton's copying is put beyond all doubt by a comparison of these two figures with the figure of Truth in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, 1611, pp.529/31. Of the attributes given by Jonson to Truth, several appear in Ripa, either as attributes of Truth or as those of figures bearing a close relation to her (e.g. the sun; the eagle, the serpents, the mirror, the crown); but some are not in Ripa (e.g. the doves and the fan of stars).

the Lord Mayor disembarked, he was conducted by Truth's Angel and Zeal[1] to St. Paul's Churchyard, where Error, attended by an Owl, a Mole, a Bat, and his champion Envy, attempted to seduce him from devotion to duty.[2] At this Truth herself appeared, and after she and Zeal had spoken[3] there was an interlude of a pageant of a ship bearing the motto Veritate Gubernor and containing Moors, whose gentleness, humility, and gratitude to European commerce and religion infuriated Error.[4] In Cheap-side London's Triumphant Mount[5] had been captured by Error's minions and shrouded in mist. From then on, wherever the Lord Mayor went, there also went Truth and Error, struggling for the Mount[6] which was alternately gloriously visible and shrouded in mist, until the end of the day, when the final scene of the Show was the destruction of Error by a flame that

> shootes from the Head of Zeale, which fastening vpon that Cariot of Error sets it on Fire, and all the Beasts that are ioynde to it[7].

It is plain that much of this is borrowed directly from Troia-Noua Triumphans and only indirectly from the 1604 pageants. The explicit and extended conflict between Good and Evil; the obviously superior strength of Good; the final total destruction of Evil;

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1. T. Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. sig. Bv. 2. ibid. sig. B2/B3.
3. ibid. sig. B3/B4. 4. ibid. sig. B4v/Cv. 5. ibid. sig. C2.
6. ibid. sig. C2v/D. 7. ibid. sig. D2v.

the unusual degree of action; and the approach to unity: all these are qualities held in common by the 1612 and 1613 Shows, while the two 1604 pageants have them either not at all or to a slighter degree. Nevertheless Middleton went back directly to 1604 for certain other elements: the personification of the Five Senses[1] and the personage of Zeal. Zeal had delivered the interpretative speech of the Tower of Pleasure, and it had been that speech that, carefully acknowledged by Dekker as Middleton's[2], had most clearly pointed the notion of conflict. Now in The Triumphs of Truth Zeal, dressed much as he had been nine years previously[3], and lacking all counterpart in Troia-Noua Triumphans, was an important personage.

But it was not only to his own and Dekker's work of 1604 that Middleton looked back. The alternate shrouding and unshrouding of his Mount points back to 1604, when Jonson explains how he contrived the effect of mist. The whole frame of Jonson's Fenchurch pageant

> was couered with a curtaine of silke, painted like a thicke cloude, and at the approach of the K. was instantly to bee drawne. The Allegory being, that those cloudes were gathered vpon the face of the Citty, through their long want of his wished sight: but now, as at the rising of the Sunne, all mistes were dispersed and fled[4].

1.cf.pp.221 & 222. 2.cf. p.217 & note 1.
3.T.Dekker,Magnificent Entertainment.sig.I.cf.Truth.sig.Bv.
4.B.Jonson,His Part.sig.B2.

By contrast, the Coronation procession of Charles 11 in 1661 appears to have exerted very little influence upon the Lord Mayors' Shows. Tatham's Royal Oake, of 1660, anticipated Ogilby's device by introducing the comic spectacle of rustics dancing and conversing and finally plucking up courage to address[1] the Lord Mayor "in a Rustick Dyalect". Ogilby's Seamen's Song[2] depends also on the contrast between the royal dignity of the King and the plebeian roystering of the seamen who address him, but the humour is much less robust. This scene may possibly have influenced Tatham to make his commoner addressing the Lord Mayor in his Show of 1661 a seaman[3], but this is a very minor point and far from certain.

The political reference of The Royal Oake was largely positive: that is, it was concerned with gratitude for Charles' Restoration, rather than with bitter remembrance of things past. The choice of the romantic story of Charles' escape at Boscobel as the principal pageant[4] is a sufficient indication of this. In contrast, Ogilby's opening pageant shows the discomfiture of Rebellion and Confusion by Britain's Monarchy and Loyalty. On this arch are paintings of de-

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1. J.Tatham, Royal Oake. 1660. p.9/10.
2. J.Ogilby, Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment. 1661. p.18/19.
3. J.Tatham, London's Tryumphs. 1661. pp.5/7.
4. J.Tatham, Royal Oake. pp.9/12. The story also appears, though not so prominently, in Ogilby's Relation, pp.5/6.

capitated heads and of Usurpation, out of whose shoulder shootw Cromwell's head.[1] It may have been under the influence of Ogilby that Tatham conceived, the same year, the idea of

> the Fountain of Acis, running Blood and Milk, alluding to the Murder of Acis committed by the Monster Polyphemus...This Fountain is Arboricall, in the head or front whereof sits a weeping person, representing Galatea beloved of Acis, for whose death she mourns. A young Mans face towards the top is discovered, instead of hair, green oaken leaves or branches?

Galatea's speech makes it clear that her

> woes may aptly be apply'd to theirs
> That lost their King[2].

Such influence is, however, highly doubtful.

Two general points may be made. Ogilby's description of the pageantry of Charles 11's coronation shows that in the tradition of royal entries it was ornate and complicated, much more so than the Lord Mayors' Shows of before the Civil War or after 1655. Part of Ogilby's first device has already been described. In addition to the elements representing the discomfiture of English republicanism, it included a painting of Charles's arrival at Dover, and statues of the three Stuart Kings of England. Behind the figure of Charles 11 was a stylized oak tree. The paintings on the East side represented the disorder of the Common-wealth, those on the West the happy contrast of the

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1. J.Ogilby, Relation. pp.2/4.
2. xxxx J.Tatham, London's Tryumphs. 1661. p.11.
3. ibid. sig.C3. p.13 .

Restoration, and that on the South-West side the Lord Mayor presenting the keys of the City to the King. In the niches were four allegorical statues.[1] The Lord Mayors' Shows of the period following the Restoration far exceeded earlier ones in ornateness and complexity. Royal pageantry, however, is scarcely an adequate cause.

Ogilby's devices were also remarkably for the important part played by music. The first Arch, that has already been described, carried

> ten Drummers, flanking Rebellion; twelve Trumpets flanking Monarchy.
> Aloft under the two Devastations, twelve Trumpets, four Drums.
> Within the Arch, on two Balconies, six Trumpets, four Drums.[2]

Songs were also important. The second Arch was enlivened by two songs[3] from the seamen, both of considerable length and vigour; the second included a bold panegyric to Charles as

> the King of Peace,
> VVho, the Stars so long foretold,
> From all VVoes should us release
> Converting Iron-times to Gold[4].

The enhanced importance of song is one of the most characteristic features of the later Lord Mayors' Shows, and Ogilby may possibly have been an influence in this development. ~~cannot possibly be attributed to the influence of Ogilby~~, since the development did not take place with Tatham.

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1. J.Ogilby, Relation. pp.2/7.
2. ibid. p.7.
3. ibid. pp.14/14 & 18/19.
4. ibid. pp.25/26.

C. The Lord Mayor's Show and the Antwerp Ommegang.

The Antwerp Ommegang[1], a procession with a circular route, came from and returned to the Cathedral of Our Lady. Formally instituted by an Act of 1398, its order was fixed by a statute of the following year[2]; it reached its height long before the Lord Mayor's Show. There are pamphlets[3] describing the Ommegang, far fewer than those describing the Lord Mayor's Show, but otherwise not dissimilar, including descriptions of the pageantry as well as the speeches delivered. Two sixteenth and one seventeenth century pamphlets are preserved at Brussels; for another sixteenth century pamphlet, that of 1566, I have relied on information given by Fl. Prims, in De Antwerpsche Ommeganck op den Vooravond van de Beeldstormerij[4]. Seventeenth century material is rather fuller: the pamphlets for 1609, 1648, 1649, 1651, and 1661 are available; and one of these, the pamphlet for 1649, is fully illustrated by woodcuts,

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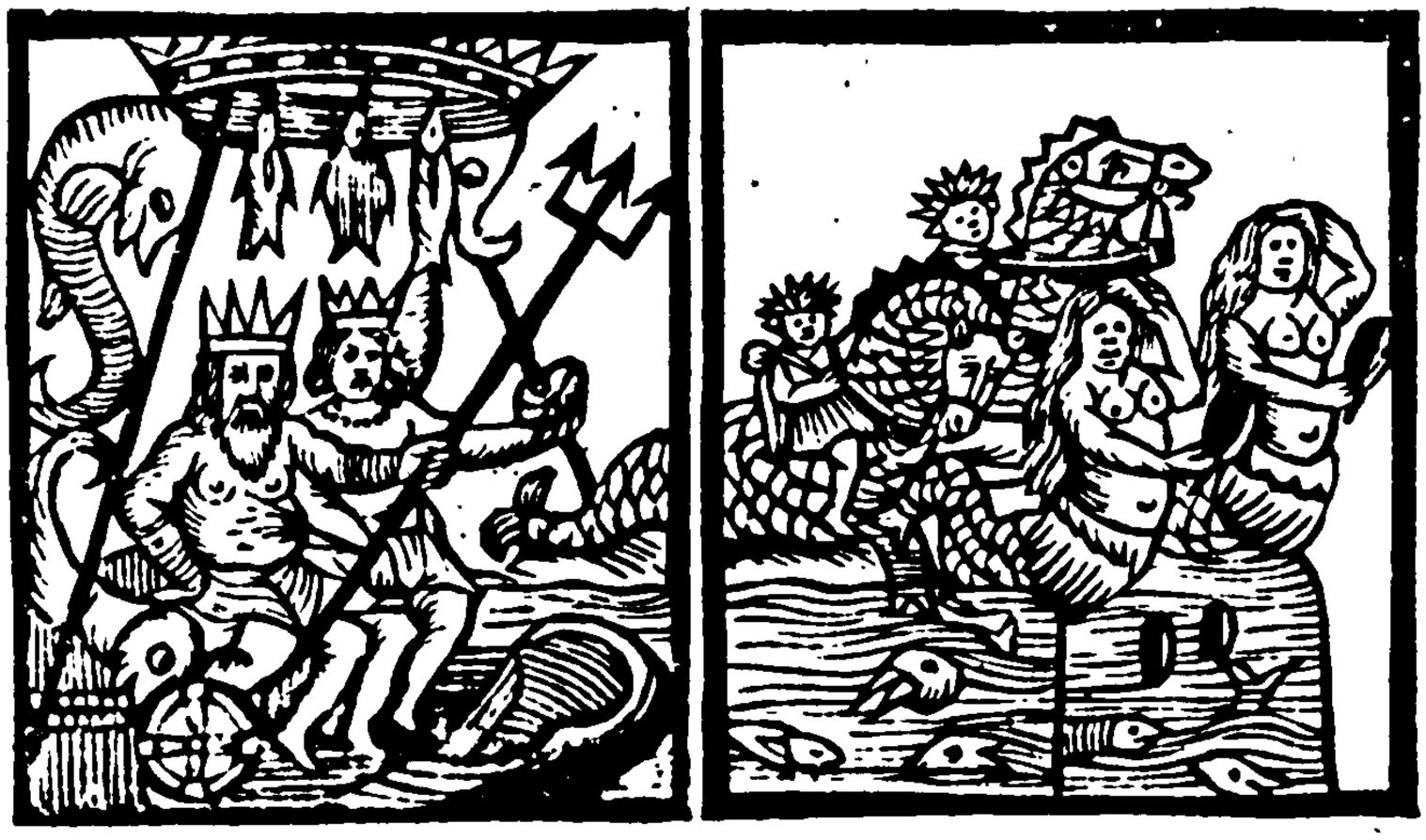
1. om = round; gaen = go.
2. Em. van Heurck, "Un drapelet ancien de Notre Dame d'Anvers", in De Gulden Passer. 1924. pp.116/130.
3. The title pages of the Flemish pamphlets describing the Antwerp Ommegang are given in the Bibliography, Section B, together with the names of the libraries where they are to be found.
4. Monsieur Prims here says that the original is in the Cathedral archives at Antwerp.. The Cathedral authorities, however, said they had no knowledge of it (August, 1953).

vande Wzede/moghen als jonghe kinderen sonder iet te ghedencken met den anderen spelen ende vzolijck wesen.



Den Zee-vvaghen.

CAn ick anders van desen Waghen seggben / als het ghene dat wy vande voorgaende ghesept hebben/ dat den Godt Neptunus met syn Goddinne Amphitrite / in desen vzede ons comt ghelucx wenschen/ als hy soo triumphantelyck is sittende op synen wagen voorgeschetrocken van twee Zee peerden voor welcke swemmen twee Meermin nen/haer kemmende ende spieghelende. Het oudt spreeck woordt spdt : dat als de Merremin,, maer siet ten spieghel in,, en kemmen mach haer hair, dat dan de locht is licht en claer, 'zijn dit niet al teeckenen van volheckheden : want Proteus blijft in syn eerste wesen / Glaucus speelt met de visschen / ende de Tzitons blaesen hun kiechhoornen op dat Pallathea ende Oceanus hun soude verrieren met Lauwer-krausse/ de niet meer ten grondc onder het wäter duyckelen..

Den

Fig. 1:
Photostat of page 7 of Verbeldinghe van den Jaerlijckschen Triumphanten Omganck van Antwerpen, 1651. (Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels: Collection van Hulthem 27.814). The illustration shows Oceanus and Amphitrita in a shell-shaped chariot preceded by mermaids, sea-horses, and other creatures of the water.

copied in 1661.

Like the pamphlets written for the Lord Mayors' Shows, these Flemish descriptions vary in amount of detail, style and manner of presentation. They customarily start with a foreword, and continue with an account of the name, appearance, and meaning of the pageants. Speeches and mottos are given, but they are rarer than in Lord Mayors' Shows. The descriptive pamphlet of 1609 is unusually full in its account of symbolical costume, though the details are what would in any case have been expected. Justice, for example, is 'clothed in a golden and red gown, holding in her right hand a naked sword and in the other a balance which rests in her lap'.[1] The greatest contrast in manner of presentation is between the pamphlets of 1648 and 1649. C.van Essen's pamphlet of 1649 is representative: he describes the Show in a straightforward manner. The anonymous author of the 1648 pamphlet on the other hand introduces a comic element belonging entirely to his description and not at all to the tableaux by writing his account in the form of a dialogue. A child exclaims excitedly at the sight of each tableau, "'Gemini! Sir, look here now, what is that?'",[2]

1.Cort Verhael van t'Ghene.1609."ghecleet in gouden doeck oft root hebbende inde rechte hant een bloot sweert in d'ander een ballance op hare schoot liggede".
2.Den Trivmphanten Omganck.1648."IEmini! Signior, siet hier eens; wat is dat?"(sig.B).

or "'Do look now, Mother, what a fine wagon is coming along there'"[1]. The actual description of the pageants comes in the serious answers.

Besides the descriptive pamphlets there are two other useful sources of information about the Antwerp Ommegang. The first of these is a representation of the Ommegang in lace[2] made about 1556 and given to the Archduchess Isabella as a present, probably when she made her entry into the Netherlands in 1599. This lacework, with its representations of the Maid of Antwerp, the Camel, the Elephant, the Whale, the Giant, and Mount Parnassus, links the sixteenth century and seventeenth century pamphlets extant. Worked into the lace are various symbolical ornaments of which the most striking are the Five Senses. Taste is a woman with her right hand on a basket of fruit, while her left hand brings an apple to her mouth; on her right is a monkey imitating her. Smell has flowers in her left hand to which a dog brings his nose. Hearing, with a dog beside her, is playing on a lute. The most complicated of the symbols, the group representing sight, comprises a woman looking in a mirror, on the right of whom is the sharp-eyed eagle, underneath a torch which permits him to see in the dark. Feeling is a woman

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1. Den Trivmphanten Omganck. "Siet doch eens Mama, wat schoonder waghen comt daer?" (sig.B2).
2. C.L.Truyens-bredael, Het Kantwerk van den Ommegang. Antwerp. 1941.

with a Falcon, carrying a torch on her feet. On the evidence of the descriptive pamphlets, the Antwerp Shows tended to be simpler than the London ones. The Flemish pamphlet of 1609[1], however, indicates that on that occasion symbolical ornament played a large part. The presence of comparable detail in the lacework may mean only that the lace was very finely wrought, but it is possibly a pointer to the use of such incidental ornament in the Ommegang, not mentioned in the printed descriptions.

The other source of information is a series of woodcuts of the Ommegang. In the Rijksaarchief at Antwerp is a large[2] representation of the whole Ommegang, secular tableaux, religious tableaux, and animals. Inset in the top left-hand corner is the inscription:

ICY VOEYEz VOVS LA TRIÔMPHANTE./PROCESSION D' ANVERS.FORT CVRIEVSE/MENT SUIVANT LEVR PROTOTYPE./ MIS EN LVMIERE PAR IEAN./IAEGHERS. DEMEVRANT EN ANVERS /SYRIA/LOMBARDE VESTE AV LIVRE A/ ESCRIRE

The names of the tableaux are also given in French. Here we are concerned only with the secular tableaux and the animals. These are: the Ship of Triumphs, the the Great Whale accompanied by his Dolphins, the Car of Neptune, The Great Elephant, the Great Giant

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1. cf. p. 233.
2. 203 x 24 centimetres.

followed by his small Giants, the Nine Muses of Mount Parnassus, and the Maid of the Seventeen Provinces. The date of these woodcuts is doubtful, but they could hardly have been made before about 1640, when Jean Jaeghers would be twenty one years of age[1]. Very similar woodcuts were used to illustrate van Essen's pamphlet of 1649, and these in turn were used again in 1661.

By this time the Ommegang was very different from what it had been when first instituted in 1398. The original strictly Biblical pageants[2] had disappeared, though a fifteenth century float of the ten maidens with lamps'[3] is still represented in the woodcuts. A 'float of the saints, both male and female, of Brabant'[4]; also of the first half of the fifteenth century, marks the beginning of local or regional patriotism in the Show and hence indicates a situation in which secular pageantry was likely to develop. This may have happened by 1470 when there were 'the first pageant of Brabant... and another pageant of Brabant'[5]. The acquisition of secular elements did not mean that the Antwerp Ommegang lost its original religious elements. Pierre Bourgeron[6]

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1. Baptized 3.11.1618, made will 18.12.1666.
2. L. de Burbure, De Antwerpsche Ommegangen in de xiv^e en xv^e eeuw. Antwerp. 1878. p. 3/4.
3. ibid. p. 6. "poynt van de x maechden metten lampen".
4. ibid. p. 7. "poynt vande santen ende santinnen jn Brabant".
5. ibid. p. 8. "derste punct van Brabant...dander punct van Brabant".
6. A French diarist travelling in Antwerp in 16 19. cf. p. 240.

mentions New Testament scenes in 1619, and a mid-seventeenth century Ommegang[1] included tableaux of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Kings, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Harrowing of Hell, and Hell. There is here a striking contrast with the Lord Mayor's Show. The pageants of the Midsummer Show, before its final suppression, were principally religious, though there was an embryonic secular development[2]. Certain mid-sixteenth century Lord Mayors' Shows seem to have been hesitating on the brink of using secular pageantry. The principal personage of Sir William Harper's 1561 pageant was King David, but speeches were also made by Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, and Topas[3]. From Peele onwards, however, the content of the Lord Mayor's Show was almost entirely, and the feeling sompletely, secular. Heywood introduced Saint Catherine, patron saint of the Haberdashers' Company, seated in front of a palace on which stands Honour, the principal personage and speaker[4]; and Jordan, in perhaps the nearest approach to a religious tableau, presented David, "the Royal-Shepherd"[5], attended by six persons, among them Orthodoxus and Protestantia, and carrying

> a Shield Argent, Charged with a Giants Head Coupee[6].

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1. C. van Essen, Antwerpsche ommegangh. 1649.
2. cf. p. 14
3. cf. p. 14/15
4. T. Heywood, Londons Ius Honorarium. Works. 4. 276/8.
5. T. Jordan, London in Luster. 1679. p. 9.
6. ibid. p. 10.

But these are mixed Renaissance tableaux, far removed from the medieval simplicity of the Antwerp New Testament scenes..There are many reasons for the divergent development. The Ommegang was formally instituted; the Lord Mayor's Show gradually grew out of the Midsummer Show and the mayoral ridings to Westminster[1]

The Antwerp Show was a genuinely communal effort involving many sections of the people, including religious bodies: the ecclesiastical authorities of Notre Dame, where on the eve of the procession there were special vespers, followed by the chanting of the Salve Regina before the image of Mary, and where high mass was celebrated on the procession's return; the guilds, whose members arranged for the guarding of the image of Mary on the night preceding the celebrations and walked in the procession; and the religious orders who also walked with the Ommegang.[2] The conservative influence, in this matter, of the Church and of the guilds' continued attachment to the Church, need not be stressed. The Church's part in England, quite differently, was confined before 1640 to a service in St. Paul's after the Lord Mayor returned from the Guildhall, and after 1660 did not exist at all. That the Lord Mayor's Show was a circular progress from the Guildhall to the

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1.cf.pp.1/12.
2.Em. van Heurck,"Un drapelet ancien",De Gulden Passer. 1924.pp.126/7.

Guildhall while the Ommegang was one from Notre Dame to Notre Dame is symbolic of far-reaching differences between the two displays. The English Show, too, was normally organized by a different Company each year, an arrangement that facilitated the loss of old elements and the gain of new. Finally, the employment of a writer in England was a further aid to secularization; for many of the English pageant-poets wrote for Masques[1] or other semi-dramatic forms, and most were primarily secular dramatists.[2] In Antwerp, on the other hand, the importance of the writer was very slight. In the Show printed by Jan van Hilten in 1648,[3] of eighteen tableaux only two - Parnassus Mount, where Apollo and the Nine Muses each sang four lines[4], and the Annunciation, in which the Angel had a speech[5] - approached the English conception, according to which a dumb show was the exception rather than the rule.

Nevertheless the New Testament tableaux of Antwerp were neither the only, nor, if one may judge from a contemporary account, the most impressive, of the Antwerp spectacles in the early part of the seventeenth century. The diary of Pierre Bourgeron, a Frendman

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1. Jonson, Middleton, Heywood, Jordan.
2. Peele, Jonson, Dekker, Middleton, Heywood, Tatham, Jordan, Settle.
3. Den Trivmphanten Omganck.
4. ibid. sig. B2/B2v.
5. ibid. sig. B3.

travelling in the Netherlands in 1619, gives an account of the Ommegang in which the emphasis is on the secular tableaux. He saw

> premièrement la bourgeoisie en bon ordre et couche, marcher selon leurs divers cartiers, et compaignies avec leurs bannières; puis les vingt-sept mestiers... Après cela passé en bon ordre, parurent les mysteres de toutes sortes, à scavoir: le géant et les enfants, représentant, ce crois-je, ce fier géant Druo ou Antigonus...Après cela viennent en haut et triumphant arroy les dixsept Provinces, représentées par dixsept filles bien vestues selon la condition et manière de chasque païs: puis l'alliance et confédération Belgique; le temple de Janus fermé par les archiducs, pour monstrer la paix donnée par eux au païs, un grand Neptune tiré dans son char au milieu des eaux et accompaigné de ses Tritons et Nereïdes, les testes environnées de roseaux et joncs marins, et des trompes à leurs mains; puis une grande et énorme balene, un daufin portant Arion jouant de sa lyre; après un éléphant, des dromadaires et autres animaux; le mont de Parnasse avec les neuf Muses et Apollon jouans de divers instrumens et faisans une aggréable musique; puis pour clorre les moralitez venoient divers mystères du Nouveau-Testament, depuis la nativité jusqu'à l'Ascension et Résurrection dernière, avec le Jugement final, Paradis et Enfer, tout cela assez bien représenté par jeunes filles et garçons, et portez sur des chariots trainez par des chevaux...[1]

The secular tableaux varied to some extent over the years, but nevertheless preserved a much higher degree of continuity than the English tableaux. Their ingredients, however, were similar, and all the Antwerp pageants, almost, have their parallels in the Lord Mayors' Shows.

A ship appeared frequently in London and nearly[2] always in Antwerp. On one occasion in the sixteenth century the Flemish ship was described as

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1. Jan Gessler, "De Antwerpsche Ommegang van 1619". De Gulden Passer. 1935. p. 124/5.
2. Pierre Bourgeron omits mention of the ship.

'the ship of the merchants or traders very well equipped with its requirements; within are the boatman and Aeolus, eldest of all the winds, indicating that by God's grace it is by navigation that all the plenty and wealth reaches Antwerp, to the profit of all the Low Countries. Behind come the four chief winds, each with its secondary wind'.[1] One of the woodcuts illustrating van Essen's pamphlet in 1649 represents a ship with sails spread, carrying a few personages in the stern. The effect is one of dignified inactivity. In the pamphlet of 1648, on the contrary, both woodcuts of the ship depict scenes of bustling life with nets and fish and movement. It is not possible, in the Antwerp Shows, completely to distinguish the ship that aimed at naturalism from that that aimed at impressiveness. The lifelike ship depicted in 1648 contained, according to the descriptive pamphlet, the figure of Aeolus[2]. Further, it is impossible to say how direct a relation the woodcuts bore to the actual pageants, for which the same physical structure served each year. This is not an insuperable difficulty: the differences between the two types of

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1. Oude ende nieuwe poincten. 1564. "T schip der Coopmanschappen oft Coopveerder, seer wel toegerust met sijn Schipgewant, daer inne den Schipman ende Aeolus de ouerste van alle winden, bethoonende dat met Gods gratie, doer die Schipvaert alle Ouervloedicheytende Ryckdom binnen Antwerpen coemt, tot profijte van allen dese Nederlanden, Hier achter rijden de iiij. Hoot winden, elck met sijn Sijwinden." sig. Av.
2. Den Trivmphanten Omganck. sig. A4v.

ship pageant are a matter of ornament rather than basic structure. The printed descriptions of Antwerp ship pageants themselves show, sometimes, features peculiar to particular years, such as the presence in the 1609 ship of sailors of many nations.[1] At any rate, if this basic division existed among the ship pageants of Antwerp, then the 1648 ship may stand as the example of the naturalistic reproduction, the 1649 as that of the impressive tableau.

Such a division certainly existed in London ship pageantry. Munday described it when he said that his ship of 1623 was

> a beautifull and curious Argoe, shaped after the old Grecian Antique manner, not with Mastes and Sayles, as prepared for rough and boystrous Seas; but like to the Grecian Argoes, for carriage of passengers, in time of calme and gentle weather, hauing Bankes for men to sit and rowe with Oares, for more quicke and agile passage on the Seas.[2]

This ship, the "Golden Fleece", was,in a Drapers' Show, itself trade pageantry. Nevertheless pride in seafaring and the successful outcome of trading ventures are more naturally expressed when the pageant itself represents a contemporary scene. This kind of ship usually carried a Captain and crew, many of whose functions were specifically designated. In place of the spectacular "Golden Fleece", with its classical characters,

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1. Cort Verhael van t'Ghene. 1609.
2. A. Munday, Trivmphs of the Golden Fleece. sig. A3v.

there was some sort of activity. In Munday's pageant called the "Royall Exchange" this was nothing more than a dialogue between the Master, Mate and Boy followed by a salute of guns[1]. The ship called the "Fishmongers' Esperanza" or the "Hope of London" was more interesting as

> Fishermen, in this fishing Busse are seriously at labour, drawing vp their Nets, laden with liuing fish, and bestowing them bountifully among the people[2].

The most complete description of this type of pageant in all its aspects is Settle's. The "William and Mary"

> is laden with Cloth, Silk and Stuffs of all sorts, as representing the Traffick in which His Lordship deals into Foraign Countries...On board this Ship are a Captain and his Mate, a Bosewain and Mariner, each man at work, some at the main Tack, others at the main Braces, others the Bowlings, some climbing up to the Maintop, others sitting cross the Yard-Arms. Others with Quarter Canns drinking the King and Queens Health; the Lord Mayors, and the Honourable Companies, with Guns fireing, Shouts, Hussahs and Acclamations, as the Expressions of their Joy for his Lordship's Inauguration, and their Dutiful salutes to welcome him to the Chair, with Songs and Trumpets sounding, proper to the Action and the Honour of the Merchant-Taylors.
>
> The Captain with his Crew placing themselves on the Quarter-Deck, drest in Indian silks, with rich Fur Caps, attired like Sea-faring men; the Bosewain having given his signal by a Whistle, and commanded silence, the Syrens being placed in the Sea leave off their melodious Musick, and display their Bannors whilst the Captain accosts his Lordship.[3]

(in my MS melodious)

The transition between a ship bustling with everyday life and activity and a ship designed as a comic pageant is not difficult. Such is John Taylor's ship, bearing Thetis and

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1. A. Munday, Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania. sig. A4v.
2. A. Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. Bv.
3. E. Settle, Triumphs of London. 1693. p. 16.

Thamesis, but

> loaden, with Packs, dry fats, and divers other commodities[1].

After Thetis's speech, four rowers

> pike their oares, and every of them drinkes his Kan as a health, tossing them up, and presently falling into a Rugged friskin daunce, returne to Pauls wharfe[2].

Despite these parallels between the London and Antwerp ships, there is no reason to suppose borrowing. The ship was an obvious and universal device of pageantry, going back to the earliest times and used in the remotest places[5], as well as in Renaissance Europe. Details, too, explain themselves without such recourse. If the god Aeolus appeared in Antwerp in 1648 and in London in 1620[4], the reason is probably that it was very natural to seat him in a trading ship dependent on fair wind. Similar considerations apply to the realistic ships. Antwerp and London were both dependent on sea-trade, hence the ideas and activities common to them both appeared in their pageantry without direct influence.

There are certain correspondences between the Maid of Antwerp and the tableaux presenting London. In that pageant there was 'the Maid of Antwerp very honestly dressed, before whom reclines or reposes the Scheldt upon his tributaries, ornamented with

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1. J. Taylor, The Trivmphs of Fame and Honovr. 1634, p. 7.
2. ibid. p. 9.
3. E. Welsford, The Court Masque. 1927. p. 13.
4. J. Squire, Tryumphs of Peace. sig. A3v.
5. cf. fig. 2. preceding p. 245.

Thelpomene de 1. Nimph.

Myn Suster die het treurspel ghesegght/
En my't root treurspel wel vercleert.
Sy segght dat selder Sonnen schijn/
Ghen schooner stadt en can ghesijn.

Thalia de 3.

Soete stemme snaren spel/
Van instrumenten dat mach wel/
Heer seiden man dat maeckt men vint/
Die niet Musieck u niet en dient.

Euterpe 4.

De Schilder-const die door haer cracht
Van root en cleyne waxt ghecracht/
Die [illegible] in volle eer/
Want niemant anders is sy weer.

Melpomene 5.

Wie met verstants soet/
Een ieder [illegible] verblijden doet/
Die vintmen oock op't tooneel/
Dat sy minder maet / als in't gheheel.

Erato 6.

Wel-spreken thept die met haer tongh.
Een ieder wil strijt in den wongh/
't Antwerpen is die heel ghemeyn/
Wel spreken can daer groot/ en cleyn.

Calliope 7.

En Mathematica ghewis/
Die in't ghesicht ghelegghen is.
Die vintmen daer met leden schoon/
Antwerpen is daer van den toon.

Urania 8.

De Letter-const die Coning-gin
Die t'stam papier verbuit met sin
Die woont daer als in haer ghewest
Want ieder een daer schrijft am best.

Pollimnia 9.

Het gheen nijet Suster al temael
Ghesenghen hebben tot verhael
En meer daer toe t'Antwerpen is
Daerom sy wel t'aen-mercken is.

Den Maeghden-Bergh.

DEsen vertoonet de leden vande stadt van Antwerpen in diverssche maeghden uytgheleydt/ dat sy de privilegien van Antwerpen mocht als sy der maeghdekens onbevleckt bewaren / ende daerom is dat de beste maeght heeft een Lauwerier tack verssilvert in de handt / om te betoonen/dat sy alle policien ende wetten souden in haeren rechten staet helpen houden / ende haer eerste jeught bpt groenheyt des Lauwiers uytgebreyt soo ongehindert houden / dat sy door onachtsaemheyt niet verdrooght / noch wort/maer soo versiert blijft blinckt met het wit blinckende silver ende [illegible] sulcker onbesmette Lelie daer boven opstaende/ dat al de weerelt den

fig.2.

Photostat of page 12 of Verbeldinghe van den Jaerlickschen Triumphanten Omganck van Antwerpen, 1651. (Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels: Collection van Hulthem 27.814) The illustration shows the Mount of Maidens, with Antwerp above and surrounding regions below.

marine plants, as a help to the well-being of the nymphs. On the right side sits Mercury as god of the merchants, on the left Plenty on all manner of merchandize that is brought to the Scheldt by the same nymphs. Behind come several youths and maidens decked with various expensive ornaments'[1]. The closest London parallel to this is in Londons Ius Honorarium. There a lady seated in a chariot represents London, and behind her are more ladies representing various chief cities of the Kingdom: Westminster, York, Bristol, Oxford, Lincoln, and others[2]. London's speech makes it clear that, as in the Antwerp pageant, the chief city is the leader for the common good. Webster's pageant of London bears a close visual resemblance, not so much to the processional form of the pageant of the Maid of Antwerp as to the form of a Mount by which the same pageant is represented in the 1649 woodcut. The ladies below, however, do not represent sister regions or cities, but rivals. London is placed in the highest seat, and beneath her

> admiring her peace and felicity, sit fiue eminent Cities, as Antwerme, Paris, Rome, Venice and Constantinople[3].

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1. Oude en nieuwe poincten. "Die Maecht van Antwerpen seer eerlijck gehabitueert, voor haer liggende oft rustende Schaldis op sijnen waterstrom, beset met Lis ende Dodden ende ander watercruyt, als een hulper der welvaert vander voors. /Nymphen. Opte rechte sijde sidt Mercurius als der Cooplieden Godt, op der slincker sijde sit Copia op alderley Coopmanschap die door Schaldis der seluer Nymphen toe wort ghebracht. Hier achter rijden veel Ionghers ende Maechdekens met diversche cieraten". (sig. Av/A2)
2. T. Heywood, Londons Ius Honorarium. Works. 4. p. 274.
3. J. Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. B.

Such parallels, nevertheless, are not sufficient warrant for assuming a causal connection. The notion of representing a town or country by a woman is obvious and facilitated by the English language itself. In the example cited, the same sort of woman, that is, a young girl, was used by the devisers of both London and Antwerp pageantry. But London was often figured by an old woman.. Dekker, for instance, made her

> A Person in a rich Romane Antique Habit, with an ornament of Steeples, Towers, and Turrets on her head[1].

This method of personifying a place may perhaps be ascribed to a source; but not to Antwerp. Ripa described Italy as 'a handsome woman, dressed sumptuously and richly, who is seated on a globe, her head crowned with towers and battlements'[2]. The extract is taken from the emblem of "Italy with her provinces", the notion that lies behind the Antwerp and London devices.

The international element, so far as the Antwerp descriptive pamphlets show, was less pronounced in Antwerp than in London, and lost, rather than gained, prominence. In the sixteenth century

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1. T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. Bv. cf. J.Taylor, Trivmphs of Fame and Honovr. p.12; T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. sig. A4.
2. C.Ripa, Iconologia. 1611. p.286. ("Italia con le sue Provincie") "VNA bellissima donna vestita d'habito sontuoso, & ricco, le quale siede sopra vn globo, hà coronata la testa di torre di muraglie".

there was a pageant called the Theatre of the World. Although the one described in 1564 was scrapped two years later, the new one[1] built to replace it was based on the same group of ideas, even to the orator's speech. The Four Parts of the World are described in 1566 as being dressed, in view of the gravity of the times, in worn armour, and the semi-dramatic incursion of the Present Time, in a tattered costume, is a new addition. In spite of its apparent permanence at this date, the pageant is referred to neither in Pierre Bourgeron's diary nor in the seventeenth century pamphlets, and must, therefore, be presumed to have been dropped. In the middle of the sixteenth century[2], in front of the pageant was its inscription: 'Here are the four parts of the world, in which can be seen God's wonderful works. And in front this epigram was recited: here everybody may observe portrayed how these countries can achieve nothing unless, through God's benevolent intervention, each one has his gifts which truly suit. But the time has come for general advantage through sincere

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1. Fl. Prims, De Antwerpsche Ommegang. pp. 15/16.
2. Oude ende nieuwe poincten. "den Theater der Weerelt, waer vore staen dese schriften.
   Hier sijn die vier Deelen des Weerelts present
   Waer duernen Gods wonderlijcke wercken bekent.
   Ende hier vore wort ghepronunciert dese Epigramma.
   Hier mach elck Figuerlijck aenmercken,

(Continued on p.248).

agreement. In this Theatre of the World there stand four triumphal empresses, representing the four principal and greatest parts of the world, namely Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, which last has first become known in our time.'

The pageant of the Four Parts of the World was not a favourite in the London mayoral displays; it nevertheless found a place both before and after the Civil War. At each corner of John Squire's ship[1] sat a personification of one of the continents, whose Queen was Europe. This device indicated that the whole world welcomed trade with the Haberdashers' Company. In 1686, Taubman had a device that included the Four Parts of the World, though it was not specifically devoted to them. A chariot was drawn by nine white horses in groups of three, each with a rider. Europe rode the middle horse of the second rank, and Africa, Asia, and America,

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(Notes continued from p.247).
Hoe dat deen Lant, sonder dander niet en mach
Want elck heeft syn gaue, duer Gods milde wercken,
Welck behooren vry te syne, sonder Tijt ist Dach
Tot Ghemeynen orboor, met een redelijck verdrach.
In desen Theatrum der Weerelt staen vier triumphelijcke Keyserinne, bediedende die vier principale endevermaeste deelen der Werelt, als Europa, Asia, Africa ende America dwelck in onsen Tijden eerst is bekent gheworden. sig A2.

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1. J. Squire, Tryumphs of Peace. sig. A3v.

representing Merchandize, Traffick, and other dealings, both at home and abroad[1],

rode the last three. In a Skinners' Show described by Jordan Africa alone appeared somewhat unexpectedly as the principal personage dominating Orpheus' Wilderness:

> elevated on the highest part of the Pyramid sits a female Negra richly and properly adorned with Silver, Gold, and Jewels, representing Africa.[2]

Antwerp[3] and London, as great trading cities, naturally saw themselves as being in intimate connection with all parts of the world. Further, the Three Parts of the World - Europe, Africa, and Asia - had been personified since antiquity[4] and after the discovery of America, the Four Parts of the World had a splendid career in Renaissance art generally[4] and in tapestry in particular[5] Finally, the pageants of these Four Parts were not among the most popular devices in either the London or the Antwerp Shows. It is therefore unnecessary to postulate any borrowing.

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1. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. p. 12.
2. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection. p. 4.
3. The Four Parts appeared also in several Antwerp royal entries: Philip's in 1549 (cf. note 4), Albert's and Isabella's in 1599 (cf. note 4), and the Archduke Ernest's in 1594 (J. Bochius, Descriptio Pvblicae Gratvlationis. Antwerp. 1594. opp. p. 91).
4. A. Doutrepont, Martin de Vos et l'Entree triomphale de l'Archeduc Ernest d'Autriche a Anvers en 1594. (Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome.) Bruxelles-Rome. 1937. p. 152.
5. J. H. Hyde, "L'Iconographie des Quatres Parties du Monde Dans les Tapisseries". Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Paris. 1924.

Another international pageant that vanished from the Ommegang during the sixteenth century was the Palace of the Nations, one of the most splendid of them all. On the front of it was incribed, 'This is the Palace of the Nations, brought together for the advantage of the countries, and in it all provinces and lands are housed. In this Palace of the Nations sits Mercury, the god of the merchants, with his caduceus in his hand; he sits in triumph in the midst of 12 nymphs, who represent the 12 principal nations of Europe who have residence here in the city of Antwerp. They bring the Maid of Antwerp diverse gifts, each from his kingdom, lands, provinces, and towns, and these gifts are all put together and guarded by two celestial nymphs, namely Love and Noblemindedness, who are responsible for the fact that these lands pay visits to one another, and especially that they carry on traffic and trade with one another, in which activity they are guided by the able words of Mercury, who also apportions to each his share in respect of the others. These

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1. Oude en Nievve Poincten. "T palays der Natien, waer vore staen dese schriften.

Dit is, T palays der Natien versaemot tot T s'lants profijt.

Daer alle Gauen en Consten, worden doer bevrijt.

In dit Paleys der Natien sidt Mercurius der Cooplieden God, met sijn Caduceum inde handt seer triumphelijk int midden van. xij. Nymphen, presenterende die. xij. principaele Natien van Europa,

nations are the Germans, the Spaniards, the French, the Austrians, the Portuguese, the Florentines, the Genoese, the Milanese, the Biscayans, the Luccans, the English and the Scottish, and each portrays the great honourable and noble dignity of their peoples, as they pass noble-mindedly in triumph, in perfect love with one another.'

The presence in Antwerp of Mercury, the god of the merchants, makes it clear that we have to do with a trade pageant on the international scale, where each nation is seen as contributing to the good of all. The English pageant that most clearly embodies this notion is Middleton's Pageant of Several Nations.[1] The representatives of the nations - a Turk, a Jew, a Dane, a Pole, a Barbarian, and a Russian-sit in the shade of a tree on whose branches sit personifications of Peace,

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(Notes continued from p.250).
die hier binnen der Stadt van Antwerpen sijn residerende, oock brenghen sy de Maecht van Antwerpen diuersche Gauen, elck wt sijn Conincrijcke, Landtschap, Prouincie ende Stede, welcke alle te samen gheleydt ende beweecht worden van twee hemelsche Nymphen, te weten Liefde ende Goethertieheyt, die welcke oorsake sijn dat die Landen deen den anderen besoecken, ende sonderlinghe oorsake sy om met malcanderen te traffiqueren en handelen, onder den welcken Mercurius met constighen spraeken elck is onderrechtende, ende deen vanden anderen bescheydende, als die Hoochduytschen, Spaengiaers, Franchoysen, Oorsterlinghen, Poortegaloysers, Florentijnen, Genuwesen, Milanesen, Biscayers, Lucoysen, Engelschen ende Schotte, ende elck naer haerlieder digniteyt seer rijckelijcken ende eerlijcke wtghestelt, die met alder Liefden onder malcanderen seer Goethertich sijn triumpherende. sig. A2/A2v.

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1. T. Middleton, Tryumphs of Honor and Industry. sig. Bv/B3.

Prosperity, Love, Unity, Plenty, and Fidelity.[1] One of Dekker's devices is, at least superficially, analogous on a smaller scale. London as the seat of trade had been in question in the Pageant of Several Nations, just as Antwerp had in the Palace of Nations; here only Skinners' trade is considered. Since Russia not only carried on trade in furs and skins, but was a natural symbol for their importance, Dekker made the principal personages in his Company's pageant, the Glory of Furres,

> a Russian Prince and Princesse; richly habited in Furres, to the custome of the Country.[2]

In this device, however, a fundamental idea of the Antwerp pageant - reciprocity of benefit - is lost.

Again there is no reason to suppose direct influence. Antwerp and London both traded, to the general good, all over Europe. Each pageant-poet is simply translating a fact of his city's economic experience into pageant form.

The Mount of Parnassus did not appear in earlier Antwerp Shows, but became well established in the seventeenth century. Pierre Bourgeron mentioned music in connection with this pageant in 1619. Perhaps the song associated with this pageant in both 1648[3] and 1649[4] was traditional. Four lines were allotted to each

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1. cf. p. 206.
2. T. Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. B3.
3. Den Trivmphanten Omganck. sig. B2/B2v.
4. C. van Essen, Antwerpsche Ommegangh. p. 11/12.

of the Muses and to Apollo, who sat at the top of the pageant. The woodcut attached to the 1649 pamphlet shows the tableau arranged in the form of a Mount[1]. The London Lord Mayor's Show can furnish an exact parallel in Squire's second water pageant[2].

Nevertheless any suggestion[3] that they were causally connected is implausible. The Muses were a favourite subject of Renaissance art[4]; and there was a source available, should one have been needed, which it almost certainly was not, in the Mount Parnassus seen by Anne Boleyn at her coronation.[5]

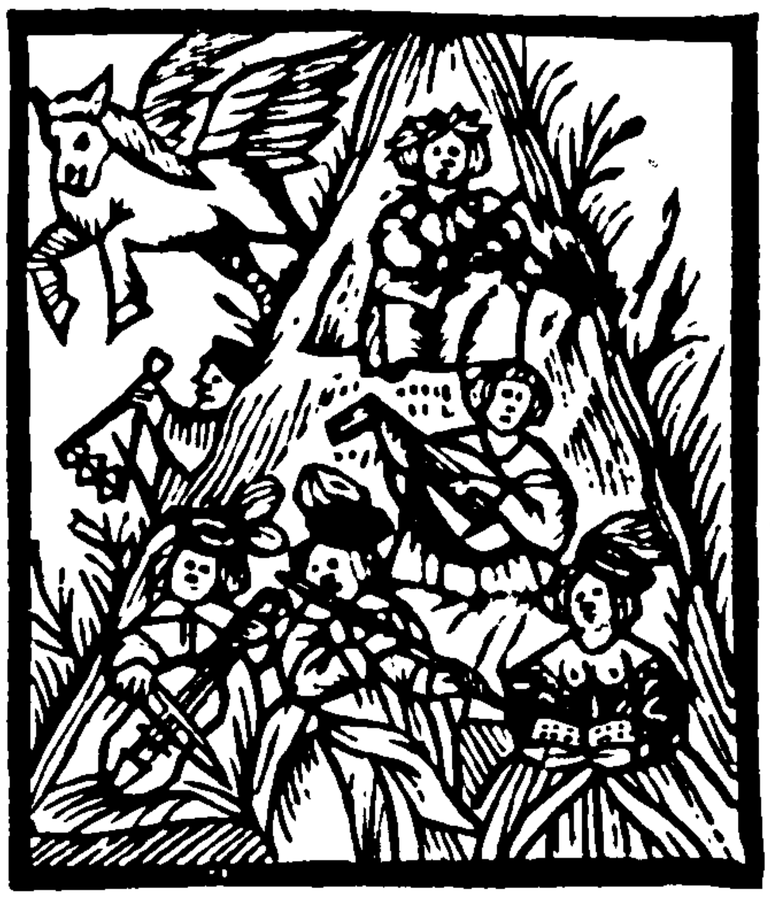
Sea-gods and sea-monsters fittingly played a large part in the Antwerp Ommegang. Neptune was frequently shown. In 1564 he was to be seen 'sitting on a sea-monster more than thirty feet long, showing himself to be a god of the sea, where all the rivers meet together, and whence on the other hand they also draw their substance.'[6] Pierre Bourgeron in the next century described very similar pageants when he spoke of "une grande et énorme balene", and of "un daufin portant Arion jouant de sa lyre"[7].

1.cf. pp. 3. preceding p.253. 2.cf. p.199
3.F.W.Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p.xxvii.
4.R. van Marle, Iconographie de l'Art Profane. Allegories et Symboles. p.276.
5.cf. p.198.
6. Oude en Nieuwe Poincten. Neptunus sittende op een Zeemonster lanck meer dan dertich Voeten, hem vertoonende als een God vander Zee, daer alle Rivieren toe dalen moeten, ende oock wederom haer voetsel halen. (sig. Av)
7.cf. p.240.

exempel jalours ſijnde hem volghen wouden naer een ſoo rechtveerdighe oorlogh.

Anders noch waer het beter de Teurcken met een geſtichtich Chriſten leven tot Chriſtum te roepē/als de ſelve niet beter wetende als Barbaren tot bekoringhe te bedwinghen. Wy daer-en-tuſſchen moeten ons voorts als goede Soldaten in den Ommeganch van dit voorsz ratijdich leven ſtrijdende met ons particuliere gebreechen bijstandē van de liefde Godts/ regulerende ons naer de H. Schrifture die ſept: dat het leven der menſchen niet anders en is als een ghedurighe Oorloogh.

Den Parnaſſus-Bergh.



DAt is den volcghen van de negen Muſen ghenoemt Parnaſſus-Berch/oft om beter te ſeggen den Triomph-wagen vande vijf-conſten inde welcke Antwerpen voorē alle Steden van de werelt (ſonder roem) is uytmuntende gelijck de Maene onder de Sterren. Waerom niet ſonder reden prijſt den wijſen Lipſius deſe ſtadt in ſijn boecxken van ſtandt-vaſtigheyt/ noemende die de ooghe van alle steden/ en met reden/want het gene in alle ander steden in't beſonder is uytſchijnende/dat vintmen in Antwerpen verſaemt in uytnementheyt. Maer aengeſien ick niet weerdich en ben om ſoo weerdighe plaets haeren Lof te ghe ven/ſal u die laeten hooren van deſe Nimphen/door ghebiet vanden boven ſittenden Apollo.

Apollo Spreeckt.	Elio Antwoort.
Ja Nimphen prijſt die ſchoonſte ſtadt/	Wel Vader ick ghehoorſaem ben/
Die opt Europa heeft ghehadt/	En ſegh u dat ick niet en ken/
Waer in men vint/het gheen daer mint	Een ſtadt ghelijck Antwerpen is/
T'verſtant dat Conſt alleen beſint.	Waer in van als te vinden is.

Ioch:

fig. 3.

Photostat of page 11 of Verbeldinghe van den Jaerlijckschen Triumphanten Omganck van Antwerpen, 1651. (Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels: Collection van Hulthem 27.814) The illustration shows the Mount of Parnassus with Pegasus and five Muses.

Two sea-monsters are named in the Jan Jaeghers woodcuts at Antwerp, and shown in the illustrations to the 1649 Ommegang.[1] But it is no longer Neptune but Arion who is seated upon the sea-monster, which has become specialized to a dolphin. Nevertheless Neptune was not dropped from the Show: both Bourgeron and Jan Jaeghers mention the Car of Neptune, the former describing the god as being

> au milieu des eaux et accompaigné de ses Tritons et Nereïdes[2].

But names rather than tableaux had changed. The pageant of Neptune and the sea-monster remained, called Arion and the dolphin. Similarly, the pageant of Neptune and his consort[3] had its counterpart in 1564 in 'Nereus and Doris, representing the union of the salt and fresh water; behind ride several inhabitants of the water dressed in white and red'[4].

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1. cf. frontispiece.
2. cf. p.240.
3. cf. fig. 3. preceding p.254.
4. Oude en Nieuwe Poincten. "Nereus ende Doris, presenterende die vergaderinghe vande Soute ende Soete Zee, hier achter rijden ende gaen weel Waterlanders met Lis ende Riet becleet." (sig. Av.)

In the days when Neptune had been riding on the sea-monster, he had been preceded by 'Portunus, reppes-enting the servant of Neptune, because he is the god of the ports or of the shores of the sea; he is, for this reason, represented on a great sea-horse, because without both water and land, he is not perfect![1] This pageant, too, remained,[2] though its name underwent a metamorphosis.

Neptune and other sea-gods were among the most prominent personages in the Lord Mayors' Shows, and were often attended by sea-monsters. Such sea-gods were sometimes plausibly seated on rocks, while around them sported dolphins, mermaids, tritons, and sirens.[3] They also appeared in chariots. John Squire describes an ingenious chariot contrived of two silver sea-monsters, and drawn by two silver sea-horses; inside was old Oceanus, with blue hair and long beard, wreathed in sedge, one hand grasping a sceptre of green reeds and the other curbing his sea-horses.[4] The god is Oceanus, not Neptune, but the distinction may be ignored, since from the point of view of London and Antwerp it was not easy to make their different functions valid in pageantry, and because the devisers

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1. Oude en Nievve Poincten. "Portunus hem presenterende als een dienaer van Neptunus, want by den God van der Hauenen is, oft Oeueren der Zee, daerom verthoot by hem naect on een groot Zeepeert, om dat hy sonder Water ende Lant niet perfect en is." sig. A v.
2. cf. frontispiece. 3. T. Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. A4; J. Tatham, Royal Oake. p. 6; M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. p. 5.
4. J. Squire, Tryumphs of Peace. cf. T. Dekker, Londons Tempe. sig. A4/A4v. sig. A3/A3v.

of the Antwerp pageant themselves had no very fixed views on the matter. The general conception of the pageant - a chariot, formed wholly or partly of sea-monsters, drawn by sea-horses, and carrying a sea-god, is very like one of the Flemish pageants[1]. A late London pageant of six sea-deities, of whom Neptune and Amphitrita are the chief, uses the motif of the large shell, which is an outstanding feature of the front of Neptune's chariot in the 1649 pamphlet[2]. In the English chariot Neptune is standing upright

> in the Cavity of a great Sea-shell, drawn by two Tritons with the Faces of Men, which from the middle downward have the proportion and shape of Fishes.[3]

London also provides a parallel to the earlier Flemish Neptune mounted on a sea-monster, although Taubman's device is not a simple animal-with-rider tableau. On the top of an artificial rock, with

> precious Shells, Corols, and Pearl...sits Neptune, exalted upon a Throne of Mother of Pearl, mounted on a Dolphin, in a blue or seagreen Mantle trim'd with silver, with a silver Trident in his hand.[4]

Fairholt's remark that the Triumph of Neptune was

> frequently displayed in the Mayoralty shews of London[5]

is, then, perfectly accurate as it stands, but one

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1. cf. Fig. 1. preceding. p. 233, 2. cf. frontispiece.
3. M. Taubman, London's Annual Triumph. p. 6/7.
4. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. p. 5.
5. F.W. Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p. xix.

cannot accept his implication that its inspiration was Antwerp. The classical knowledge involved was common property, and the maritime importance of both London and Antwerp would naturally suggest the inclusion of sea-gods in their pageantry.

A large variety of sea-monsters was likewise associated with the London Show. Some of them were directly associated with Neptune.[1] Neptune's Chariot in Troia-Noua Triumphans was drawn by two sea-horses, while there were

> Dolphins and other great Fishes playing or lying at the foot of the same[2];

in front of the whole rode four Tritons, blowing trumpets, two seated on Dolphins and two on mermaids.[2] Marine creatures appeared appropriately in the group of pageants whose basis was a rock.[3] There were also simple animal-with-rider pageants. Munday's second pageant of Chrysanaleia corresponds exactly to the one described by Bourgeron. It was

> a crowned Dolphin...Arion, a famous Musicion and Poet, rideth on his backe[4].

But a very plausible explanation was furnished by Munday. He had used this device, he said, as it alluded

> som way to the Lord Maiors coate of Armes, but more properly to the Companies, and therefore may serue indifferently for both[4].

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1. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. p. 5. cf. note 2.
2. T. Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans. sig. A4. cf. J. Tatham, Royal Oake. p. 6; A. Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. B3v.
3. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee, p. 5; T. Dekker, Britannia's Honor. sig. A4.
4. A. Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. Bv.

Dekker also claims that he used the sea-lion because it was one of the supporters of the East India Company, of which the Lord Mayor was free.[1] And this particular device is one that bears a fairly close resemblance to the Antwerp whale. It is

> a Proud-swelling Sea, on whose Waues is borne vp a sea Lyon....On this Lyon (which is cut out of wood to the life) rides Tethys wife to Oceanus, and Queene of the Sea[1].

Another animal-with-rider pageant bore but a superficial resemblance to the Antwerp versions of the same conception, for it merely formed part of the Arch of Loyalty, in front of which was

> a Sea-Lyon, Fish from the middle down-wards, on the back of which is placed a young Black[2].

A large proportion of the marine creatures used in the pageantry of each city are common to both; but they are probably so by accident. The use of some was plausibly explained in terms of heraldry, while the background of classical reference suggested others. Since the bard Arion, for example, was rescued from drowning by a dolphin, the two were naturally portrayed together. Similarly, in the stories associated with Neptune or Poseidon, monsters of the deep played around his chariot that was drawn by the horses he kept under the sea.

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1. T. Dekker, Londons Tempe. sig. Bv.
2. M. Taubman, London's Annual Triumph. p. 8.

Two enormous land animals figured prominently in the Ommegang. The Camel depicted in Jan Jaeghers' woodcuts as led by a Moorish boy is an impressive beast. He is shown among the religious tableaux where he is also placed in 1648.[1] Pierre Bourgeron, on the other hand, probably includes the Camel with the elephant, dromedaries and other animals that he places towards the end of the procession. This elephant, usually carrying Fortune on his back, goes back to the sixteenth century. Spectators then, in 1564, saw 'the Elephant, as large as life, on whom was Fortune, turning, very artistically made; in front was this inscription:

I am the master of animals and carry by my strength
the greatest of goddesses. Although she is small
in body, she is nevertheless, by virtue of her
kingdom, the most powerful of all.'[2]

Animals were very popular in Lord Mayors' Shows. The list of those used includes the ostrich[3], the lynx[4], the lion[5], the leopard[6], the rhinoceros[7], the

1. Den Trivmphanten Omganck. sig. B3v/B4.
2. Oude en Nievve Poincten. "Den Oliphant soo groot als dleuen, daer op staet de Fortuyne al draeyende, seer constich ghedaen, daer vore staet desen Titel.

   Alsoo ick ben, dmeeste van alle Dieren
   Draech ick de grootste Godinne duer mijn crachte
   Al is sy cleyn van lichaem (duer haer regieren
   Is sy) nochtans die alder meeste van machte." sig. Av.
3. T. Dekker, Londons Tempe. sig. B2.
4. G. Peele, Device of the Pageant. sig. A2.
5. A. Munday, Metropolis Coronata. sig. B2v.
6. J. Bulteel, Londons Trjumph. p. 12; A. Munday, Chrysanaleia, sig. Bv.
7. T. Heywood, Porta Pietatis. sig. B2v.

camel[1], panther[2], sable[3], lamb[4], goat[5], ram[6], elephant[7], unicorn[8], griffin[9], and pelican[10].

Occasionally an animal with his rider was a whole pageant. Dekker's simple but effective third pageant in Londons Tempe was

> an Estridge, cut out of timber to the life, biting a horse-shoe. On this Bird rides an Indian boy, holding in one hand a long Tobacco-pipe, in the other a dart[11].

The most picturesque pageant in this mode was Webster's of two animals. On his Camel

> rides a Turke, such as vse to Trauaile with Carauans, and one the Lyon a Moore or wild Numidian.[12]

An animal to which a whole pageant was devoted was likely to be some part of the relevant Company's arms. Taylor, writing for the Clothworkers in 1634, placed

> Endimion, or a shepherd rideing on a Rams back, (the Ram being the crest of the Cloth-workers armes[13].

When Peele[14] and Jordan[15] used animals with riders to pre-

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1.J.Webster,Monuments of Honor, sig. B4; T. Jordan, London's Glory. p.4; E.Settle, Triumphs of London. 1692. p.3.
2.T.Jordan, London's Resurrection. p.3; M.Taubman, Londons Great Jubilee. p.4.
3.M. Taubman, Londons Great Jubilee. p.4.
4.J.Webster, Monuments of Honor, sig. B4; T.Jordan, London's Glory. p.8.
5.E.Settle, Triumphs of London. 1699. p.6.
6.J.Taylor, Trivmphs of Fame and Honovr. p.16; T. Jordan, London in Luster. p.11.
7.J.Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. C2.
8.J.Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. C2.
9.E.Settle, Triumphs of London. 1692. p.5.
10.A.Munday, Chrysanaleia. sig. B2.
11.T.Dekker, Londons Tempe. sig. B2.
12.J.Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. B4.
13.J.Taylor, Trivmphs of Fame and Honovr. p.16.
14.G.Peele, Device of the Pageant. sig. A2.
15.T.Jordan, London in Luster. p.13.

cede a tableau, it is possible to regard the animals as constituting in effect a complete pageant, or as a part of a larger whole. Cetainly they were often used as parts of pageants. Chariots were drawn by exotic animals, frequently supporters of the Company's arms.[1] Sometimes the heraldic animals were included in the body of the pageant. Settle ingeniously placed a golden camel in a position comparable to that in which it was seen in the crest of the Grocers' arms. The camel sat on a large stage, his humps bearing fruit and nuts that were distributed by his rider, a negro, while below sat the four Cardinal Virtues.[2] The next tableau[3] continued the representation of the Grocers' arms in a fashion deliberately parallel. Two large stages were erected for two griffins, the supporters of the arms, each of these carrying between his wings fruit and spice, and each ridden by a Moor. The eight corners of the two stages were occupied by more virtues. But the centre of the scene remained the griffins of the Grocers' arms.

1.T.Middleton,Loue and Antiquity.sig.C4(two lynxes);M. Taubman,Londons Great Jubilee.p.4/5(two Lions);E.Settle, Triumphs of London.1699.p. (two Goats);T.Jordan,London in Luster.p.13(a panther and a sable).
2.E.Settle,Triumphs of London,1692.p.3.
3.ibid.p.5. cf.J.Webster,Monuments of Honor. cf.J.Tatham,Royal Oake.p.7; and T.Jordan,London's Glory. p.4.

Although armorial animals were of great importance, other animals were shown, not, usually, merely as ornament, but in order to emphasize a point. Heywood had some curious lore about the methods of combat of the rhinoceros, for which unusual choice he pleadedthe example of the Romans, who carried in triumph

> the prime and choisest things,
> VVhich they had taken from the Captive, Kings[1].

But his real motive in introducing this single-animal pageant was to present an

> emblem of the Praetorship you beare,
> Who to all Beasts of prey, who rend and teare
> The innocent heards and flocks, is foe profest,
> But in all just defences armes his crest[1].

Taking advantage of the custom of presenting together, or in close juxtaposition, both supporters of Company arms when they were not the same, Jordan hit upon an effective device when he envisaged His Chariot of Peaceful Triumph as drawn by a Golden Lion and a Lamb.[2] I.B. displayed considerable ingenuity when he interpreted a scene of two leopards ridden by two Moors and surrounded at the four corners of the stage by crowned girls with dishevelled hair as

> the embleme of a City pensive and forlorn,
> for want of a Zealous governor; the Moors and Leopards, like evill customs tyrannizing over the weak Virginitie of undefended Virtue[3].

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1. T. Heywood, Porta Pietatis. sig. B3v.
2. T. Jordan, London's Glory. p. 8.
3. I. B., Londons Trjumph. p. 12.

More obvious was the application of a golden ram that

> with Antlers of defence
> Doth shew the Drapers, Strength, Wealth, Innocence[1].

One very complicated pageant included a zoo of creatures. There was

> Magistracy tending a Bee Hiue...Liberality, by her a Dromedary...Industry on a hill where Antæs are whording vp Corne,...Chastity, by her a Vnicorne,... Obedience, by her an Elephant[2].

The English use of animal pageants, therefore, differed widely from the Antwerp use. In London animals appeared in far greater variety; the Lord Mayors' Shows in that repect, in fact, bear more resemblance to the Ommegang of Louvain than to that of Antwerp. The camel, the horse, the elephant, the stag, the leopard, the tiger, the eagle, the pelican, the dromedary, as well as a dragon, all appeared at Louvain.[3] Such a display on the same occasion could not, however, be equalled in London. In Antwerp the animals that did play a part at all were each the centre of a pageant. That happened in London, too, but often the animal was merely an aspect of a more complex pageant. Nor did the elephant and camel appear approximately equally frequently in London, as one would expect were the Antwerp Show serving as proto-

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1. T. Jordan, London in Luster. p.2.
2. J. Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. Cv/C2.
3. E. van Even, L'Omgang de Louvain. 1863. Plates xvii/xix and plate xxxiii.

type. To call the elephant

> another figure equally common to England[1]

is a great exaggeration, and although it is true that the camel was

> frequently exhibited in Lord Mayors' pageants[2]

yet its appearance on Company arms adequately explains its presence in Shows in which so much was made of armorial bearings.

Giant figures were among the most splendid and famous in Antwerp. There was 'a great Antwerp giant more than twenty-seven feet tall, seated, and on a triumphal chariot richly and artistically equipped; and around him dance several young giant children with their hands cut off. And last comes Brabant, as conqueror of the giant, with the latter's hand on his sword'.[3] Of these giants of 1564, all but the good giant Brabant seem to have remained through the years.[4] Giants appeared neither so importantly nor so regularly in the London Shows, and they were certainly not grouped together in the impressive fashion of which a copyist would surely be quick to take advantage.

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1. F.W.Fairholt, Lord Mayors' Pageants. p.xx.
2. ibid. p.xxviii(note).
3. Oude en Nievve Poincten. "Eenen grooten Ruese van Antwerpen lanck meer dan seuenentwintich voeten, sittende, ende rijckelijck ende constelijck wtgherust op eenen waghen triumphael, ende ontrent hem, dansen veel ionghe Rueskens, Hier achter^rijden veel Ionghers met afgehouden handen, Ende int leste Brabon met des Ruesen hant op sijn sweert, als een verwindere des voor schreuen Ruesen!", sig. A v.

Without detailed resemblances, it is improper to impute to universal figures a particular source.

In general, a comparison between the London and Antwerp civic Shows fails to disclose one as the source of the other. There are many parallels, both in broad outline and in detail, but it is never necessary to suppose that the Antwerp Show was the prototype of the London one. The common tradition of European pageantry, or the comparable geographical and commercial situations of the two cities, or the stock of classical knowledge, or a combination of these and other factors, sufficiently explains resemblances. The picturesque Giant Children were peculiar to Antwerp, although there were adult giants in the London Shows: in nearly all the resemblances, as in this, the common factor is not sufficiently peculiar as to imply a causal connection between the two Shows. The two Shows in fact were going in different directions. In the sixteenth century the Lord Mayor's Show was a single tableau, whereas at its fullest development it was a complex amalgam of allegorical, historical, heraldic, classical, trade, and other elements, expressed in a succession of tableaux. The Ommegang, on the other hand, was at its most complex in the sixteenth century[1], and composed of simpler tableaux in the

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1. Poincten vanden Heylighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck, 1561, has many examples of symbol and allegory. Cort Verhael van t' Ghene, 1609, with its devices called "Securitati Publicae" and "Hilaritati communi" and its personifications of abstractions, is the latest pamphlet I have seen that followed a really complex method.

seventeenth century, if the printed descriptive pamphlets are a reliable guide. It is possible to argue that the Antwerp Ommegang was seen and did furnish an inspiration even though the material borrowed was not sufficiently extra-ordinary to be readily identifiable. If so, such an inspiration must have affected particular writers, and failing the possibility, already investigated, of identifying individual pageants, would show itself in the procession as a whole. John Squire's Tryumphs of Peace[1] is the most likely candidate here. Its tableaux are Oceanus' sea-chariot, made of two sea-monsters and drawn by two sea-horses; on, apparently, a ship in full sail, in whose stern sat Aeolus, and at whose corners sat the Four Parts of the World, Europe being their chief; the Mount of Parnassus, Apollo on top, Mercury behind, and the Nine Muses below; a pyramid, the (male) Majesty of England on top, the nobility below, lions and unicorns at the corners, supported by four pillars showing the City, the Country, the Law, and Religion; a Mount, on top St. Catherine,

1.cf. T.Dekker,Londons Tempe. Of six pageants the first three (Oceanus' shell-shaped chariot drawn by two sea-horses; a sea-lion on a sea; the ostrich biting a horse-shoe, ridden by an Indian, smoking), and the last (Apollo's Palace with the Nine Muses) bear some resemblance to part of the Ommegang; but the remaining three do not. cf. also A.Munday,Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania, and Chrysanaleia.

below twelve maids of honour, and further below, servants at work on haberdashery processes, a shepherd behind; the chariot of Time, carrying also the Four Elements and a giant representing the Iron Age, and drawn by the Four Seasons. The first pageant here suggests a mingling of important elements of the Ommegang(though by 1609 and 1619 Aeolus had disappeared in Antwerp). There was also a Mount Parnassus in the Ommegang, but it did not include Mercury, whereas Anne Boleyn's Mount Parnassus did[1]. The third pageant does not recall the Ommegang, though the appearance of the fourth, however different its content, must have been similar to that of the pageant of the Maid of Antwerp, at least as shown in the Jan Jaeghers' woodcut. The date of John Squire's Show, however, is 1620, and Pierre Bourgeron, the previous year, had indicated that the Maid of Antwerp simply led a group of girls, walking.[2] The last London pageant, sophisticated and impregnated with Renaissance elements, completes the impression that Squire, not, so far as is known, a writer by profession, and new to the task of preparing a Lord Mayor's Show, had impounded all the material, seen, read, heard, or remembered, that he could. The Ommegang may have been one source.

1.cf. p.202.
2.cf. p.240.

But the choice of the Antwerp Ommegang as the prototype of the London Lord Mayor's Show would be a rash and unnecessary hypothesis. The writers of the Lord Mayors' Shows display no consciousness of its existence. It would be too much, in any case, to expect them all to make acknowledgments, but one might have expected an occasional demonstration of London's superiority. On the contrary, Webster, who makes some show of scholarship, records his indebtedness only to the Romans[1], while Middleton, inviting the reader to

> SEarch all Chronicles, Histories, Records[2]

to find a rival to the London Lord Mayor's Show, is quite unspecific about its rivals or inferiors.

1. J. Webster, Monuments of Honor. sig. A3. cf. T. Heywood, Porta Pietatis. sig. A2.
2. T. Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. sig. A3.

V. SONGS AND SONG DRAMA IN THE LORD MAYORS' SHOWS.

Music played a small but important part in the Lord Mayors' Shows before the Civil War. A few of the most appealing devices had been musical. At Soper Lane End, in 1613, there was

> a Senate-house erected, vpon which Musitians sit playing; and more to quicken time, a sweet voyce married to these words[1],

sang a song in praise of London. On this occasion Middleton appended to his pamphlet the treble and bass notes of the song. Dekker had songs in two of his three Shows. One of them was a sweet and charming lyric[2] to the Lord Mayor with the chorus:

> Whilst we sing
> In a Chorus altogether,
> Welcome, welcome, welcome hither.

There was an accompaniment to this song, but no-one could see it,

> the Musicke being queintly conueyed in a priuate roome, and not a person discouered[3].

The other was a vigorous Smiths' song[4] that made Londons Tempe one of the best of the early Shows.

Tatham's strong point was trade songs. The London Companies, with their members and apprentices,

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1. T.Middleton, Triumphs of Truth. 1613. sig.A3v.
2. T.Dekker, Troia-Noua Triumphans. 1612. sig.C3v/C4.
3. ibid. sig.C3v.
4. T.Dekker, Londons Tempe. 1628 sig.B2v/B3.

were the subjects of many ballads and songs. Some of these were satirical: "The Cloath-worker caught in a Trap"[1] and the "Taylor's Lamentation"[2] are both tales of cheating merchants; others, like "The honest Trades mans Honour Vindicated"[3], show the merchant as successful in a contest. The most famous of the songs directly in honour of some Company or trade is "The Blacksmith". It is to this group that Tatham's songs belong. The Clothworkers' song was sung in parts by two old Women, while

> the whole body of the Work-folk sung the Burden to the Song after every Verse[4].

The song celebrates the antiquity and eminence of cloth -working by ascribing the virtues and attractions of past practitioners to their continued industry. Thus, when Adam delved as Eve span, she was

> No doubt a bonny Lasse,
> For she brought the knack on't in[4].

Penelope and Alcides likewise wearied not in well-doing,

> But Hellen was a Trull,
> And had no mind of good;
> For had she been Carding of Wooll
> S'had ne're stirr'd the Youngsters blood[5].

A fling at Ariachne ends the precedents, and this farrago ends with the instruction to

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1. Roxburghe Ballads, v.2. p.62.
2. ibid. v.2.p.452.
3. ibdd.v.2.p.216.
4. J.Tatham, London's Triumph.1662. p.10.
5. ibid. p.11.

be humble
And not with our betters compare,
Nor yet at our labour grumble,
Lest Poverty come to our share.[1]

Tatham has also the converse to this conservative social ethic: a versified exhortation specifically addressed to the apprentices reflects the positive driving force of ambition regarded as a virtue:

For ought we do know ther e 's ne're a Lad here
But may be a Lord Maior or something as neer,
And his Maioresse may take from this Innocent Rout
And give her a hood in stead of a Clout:
Then cast up your Caps though Thrummed they be,
We shall be as finical one day as he.[2]

There is a consistently pleasant lyric in Sir John Ireton's Show that has the distinction of being a trade song cast completely into the form of a pastoral lyric.[3] The third and last stanza gives the note:

With the Turtles whisper love,
With the Birds do practice mirth:
With our harmless Sheepe we move,
and receive our food from Earth:
Nor doe we disdaine to be,
Cloth'd with the Lambs Liverie.[3]

The song enlivening a "Scaene of Drolling Ameritious"[4] in another Show was accompanied, apparently[4], by tongs, and has inferior unity of tone. There is the occasional sally against rebels -

The plodding, not the plotting pate,
Is subject good to King and State;[5] -

even this is a plea for inaction, which sorts fairly

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1. J.Tatham, Londons Triumph. 1664. p.18.
2. J.Tatham, Londons Triumphs. 1664. p.18.
3. J.Tatham, Londons Tryumph. 1658. p.7.
4. J.Tatham, London's Tryumphs. 1661. p. 16 .
5. ibid. p.17.

well with the intended atmosphere:

> The painfull man to businesse bred,
> In peace layes down his weary head;
> He sleeps secure;
> No thoughts imoure
> Disturb him, they in him are dead.[1]

Jordan's work presents an entirely different picture. He found the Lord Mayor's Show somewhat staid entertainment: a procession, pageants with speeches, and an occasional song or touch of humour. He transformed it, by developing the musical and humorous elements to such a degree that his Shows came to resemble variety entertainments or mock-operas. He laid under contribution everything that came to hand, old and new, high and low: opera, the regular drama, jigs, drolls, drinking songs, trade songs, political and social satire, pastorals. He is, in fact, the most interesting of the later pageant poets; Settle and Taubman merely followed - at a distance and falteringly - in his footsteps.

It seems probable that Jordan drew his inspiration for his remoulding of the Shows from the mixed entertainments in which the drama kept alive during Commonweqlth days and which continued, popular if unfashionable, after the Restoration. Though Jordan did not devise his first Lord Mayor's Show till 1671, his formative period

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1.J.Tatham, London's Tryumphs. p.17.

may have been the years preceding the Restoration. In view of official, if inconsistently applied, bans on plays, entertainments in those days had to include singing, dancing, and acrobatics, with a short dramatic piece sometimes smuggled in. The advertisement published by"Mercurius Democritus" in June, 1653, gives an interesting sample of the kind of fare provided. There was

> a Prettie Conceited fellow that hath challenged the Dromedary lately come out of Barbary, to dance with him Cap a Pee, on the Low Rope...As also running up a board with Rapiers, and a new countrey Dance called the Horn-Dance, never before presented; performed by the ablest Persons of that Civill quality in England. There will also appear a merry conceited Fellow which hath formerly given much content.[1]

The "merry conceited Fellow", it appeared from a report of a raid on this performance, was Robert Cox, an actor, who had been employed by the rope dancers

> to present a modest and ha[r]mless jigge, calle[d] Swobber [1].

The drolls and jigs of Cox were gathered together and edited several times after the Restoration[2], notably by Francis Kirkman, who speaks of their popularity. "I have seen", he says,

> the Red Bull Play-House, which was a large one, so full, that as many went back for want of room as had entred[3].

1.Quoted by H.E.Rollins in "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama." Studies in Philology. v.18(1921). no.3. p.311.
2.J.J.Elson, ed.,The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport. New York. 1932.pp.1/5.
3.ibid.(Francis Kirkman's Preface). p.268.

And these entertainments bear a close resemblance to Jordan's Shows, which not only used the old ingredients of ~~xxxxxxx~~ pageantry and speech, but also combined the elements of song, dance, acrobatics, sung dialogue, and sung dramatic pieces.

Certainly Jordan continued literary activity during the Commonwealth, and he may have played an important part in keeping English drama alive during those years. He wrote a large number of ballads and songs. That, of course, was not directly dramatic work, but as early as 1648 Parliament indicated that they regarded such activities as closely allied to playwrighting and playing by issuing an order to

> apprehend and surprise all...Persons as sell, sing, or publish, Ballads or Books, scandalous to the Parliament...and to suppress Playhouses, and apprehend the Players[1].

Much of Jordan's work was definitely "scandalous to the Parliament". As early as 1642 his Rvles to Know a Royall King ended with a Royalist song, "Peace, Peace". A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie, 1664, is a collection of occasional pieces containing several political pieces probably written before the Restoration. Some titles show their author's standpoint: there is a poem

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1. Journals, House of Commons. vi.20b.

of "A Canting Rogue Parallel'd with a Phanatick"[1] and a satire "On the Ordinance prohibiting Cavaliers to wear Swords, April, 1646"[2]. Jordan's epigrams, "On a view of the Rebels Arms"[3], "On Independency"[4], and "On the Jesuits and Puritans"[5], and his Anagrams[6] are explicitly Royalist. Ballads and songs that were not thus "scandalous" were often simply redactions of old and famous plays and ran parallel with the drolls, most of which were scenes extracted, with or without alteration, from older plays or masques. The Grave-makers[7] was extracted from Hamlet, The Club-Men[8] from Phylaster, and The Impertick[9] from The Alchemist. Among Jordan's ballads and songs, "The Forfeiture"[10], "Love in Languishment"[11], and "The jealous Duke, and the injur'd Dutchess"[12] were based, respectively, on The Merchant of Venice, Phylaster, and The Winters Tale. Such ballads plainly helped to keep

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1. T. Jordan, Royal Arbor. 1664. p.73.
2. ibid. pp.75/7. "A Letany delivered...as a New-Years Gift" (ibid. pt.1. pp.26/7), "The Royal Vision" (ibid. pt.2. pp.1/5), and "The Resolution" (ibid. pt.2. pp.7/9) are further examples of verse directed against Parliament.
3. ibid. pt.1. p.27. 4. ibid. pt.1. p.28. 5. ibid. pt.1. p.28.
6. ibid. pt.1. pp.61/2.
7. J.J. Elson, Wits. pp.111/118. 8. ibid. pp.146/150.
9. ibid. pp.229/236.
10. T. Jordan, Royal Arbor. pt.2. pp.36/40.
11. ibid. pt.2. pp.40/43.
12. ibid. pt.2. pp.46/51.

the memory of the theatre alive, and may have been written with that end in view. His Cupid his Coronation,1654, a MS copy of which survives[1], and the longer and more elaborate printed version of it, Fancy's Festivals, 1657, were both performed during the Commonwealth. Cupid his Coronation was considered by its author to be

> A Mask [and was] Presented w:th good Approbation at the Spittle diverse tymes by Masters and yong Ladyes y:t were there Scholers[1].

The characters of the piece were representatives of various nationalities, who quarrelled, but were reconciled by Love. Fancy's Festivals was

> privately presented by many civil persons of quality[2],

and its performance was

> much advantaged with the illustrative faculties of Musick, Painting, and Dancing[3].

It incorporated the substance of Cupid his Coronation as an initial interlude, followed by three others: an encounter between Power and Policy, another between Mr. Frolick and Mrs. Friendly, and a last one between Sleep and Watch, and then between their relatives Death and Life. The grand finale of the piece was a masque of the great men of the recent war. It is true that neither piece was a play proper. Nevertheless the masque was Davenant's formula for re-introducing drama by the back door, and the two pieces are clear evidence of Jordan's continued theatrical

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1.Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 165, ff.107/113.
2.T.Jordan,Fancy's Festivals. 1657. Title page.
3.ibid. sig.A2.

interests.

At the very end of the Commonwealth period Jordan had considerable scope for his talents. The ban on drama, though not rescinded, was somewhat relaxed, and Jordan devised several entertainments given in various Company halls. "An Eclogue"[1], given in honour of the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Alleyn, on December 18th, 1659, was the first dated entertainment. "The Cheaters Cheated"[2], an interlude centring on a quarrel, was printed without a date immediately after "An Eclogue", and there alleged to have been often performed before the Sheriffs of London. It is impossible to prove that this interlude was produced before the Restoration, but it is of the same type as the other Company entertainments of 1659/1660. On General Monk's entry into London several Companies gave official entertainments to him. Jordan composed two short pieces for the Goldsmiths' Company[3], and one each for the Drapers'[4], Fishmongers'[5], Skinners'[6], and Vintners' Companies[7]. Not all these

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1.T.Jordan,Royal Arbor.pt.1.pp.29/33; also Nursery of Novelties. 1665? pp.29/33.
2.ibid. pp.34/55; ibid. pp.34/55.
3.a-T.Jordan,Royal Arbor.pp.5/7. (Dated April 9th).
b-T.Jordan,Goldsmiths' Entertainment.(Dated April 11th). Guildhall Library.
4.Rump. pt.2. pp.189/192.
5.T.Jordan,Royal Arbor. pp.7/10.
6.ibid.pp.2/3.
7.T.Jordan,A Speech...At a Solemn Entertainment at Vinteners-Hal.

entertainments survive in full. The Fishmongers' piece included

a Song of difference betwixt the Lawyer, the Souldier, the Citizen, and the Countrey-man,

but the song was not printed. No real information was given about the Skinners' piece. The Vintners', Drapers', and (second) Goldsmiths' entertainments, however, survive. The Vintners' piece, the dullest, was a speech on the virtues of General Monk, and the Drapers'

A Dialogue betwixt Tom and Dick: the former a Countrey-man, the other a Citizen, Presented to his Excellency and the Council of State, at Drapers-Hall, in London, March 28. 1660.

The Goldsmiths entertained General Monk by a short farce, partly in prose and partly in song, concerning the attempts of an Englishman, a Scot, and a Welshman to force their way into Goldsmiths' Hall to fiddle and sing for him.

These ten pieces - two masques and eight Company entertainments (including "The Cheaters Cheated") - were written by Jordan and performed during Commonwealth days. It is possible, though not certain, that his contribution did not end there. At the very beginning of the Restoration period he had connections with the Red Bull theatre. He wrote

a Speech by the way of Epilogue to those that would rise out of the Pit at the Red-Bull in the last Scene, and disturb the Conclusion, by going on the Stage, June 23. 1660.[1]

1.T.Jordan,Royal Arbor. p.19.

He also printed a prologue written to introduce a Red Bull actress, allegedly the first woman to appear on the stage[1]. If Jordan was established at the Red Bull at the Restoration, and not a newcomer, he would be well acquainted with Cox's drolls and indeed with most of the illicit drama of the period, for the Red Bull was especially successful in keeping open during the Commonwealth.[2] The 1663 edition of The Tricks of Youth, or, The Walks contained a Prologue to the King, signed "T.J.", and not assigned to any character, which described the state of the theatre during the Protectorate:

> We have been so perplext with Gun and Drum,
> Look to your Hats and Clokes, the Red-coats come.
> D'amboys is routed, Hotspur quits the field,
> Falstaff's out-filched, all in Confusion yield,
> Even Auditor and Actor, what-before
> Did make the Red Bull laugh, now makes him roar.
> We curse the Misery in which our Trade is,
> And are imprison'd...
> Till YOU came hither all was so forlorn,
> We wisht we had been buried, or unborn[3].

The passage was reprinted in A Royal Arbor.[4] It is poss-ible that Jordan was here describing his own life during the Protectorate. A Commonwealth connection with the Red Bull would provide a direct channel of communication with the new opera at the end of that period.

In the first edition of Sportive Wit, published in 1656,

1.T.Jordan, Royal Arbor. pp.21/2.
2.L.Hotson,Commonwealth Stage.p.8.
3.T.Jordan, Tricks of Youth, or, The Walks. 1663. sig.A2v.
4.T.Jordan, Royal Arbor. pp.15/16.

was included a lampoon on Davenant called "How Daphne payes his Debts." It asserts...that he had made...arrangements for performance of The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru at the Red Bull... [1]

A Commonwealth connection with the Red Bull, however, cannot be proved.

It has been suggested[2] that the short Money is an Asse was acted during the Protectorate. The play was issued twice: as Money is an Asse in 1668; and as Wealth out-witted: or, Money's an Ass, undated. Both issues were followed by a list of books recently printed for Francis Kirkman: there were typographical differences between the lists, but the books included were the same. Their printing dates were also therefore probably close, though Jordan's dedication of Wealth out-witted includes a statement which shows that he wanted that issue to be believed the earlier: the play, he says, was

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1.H.E.Rollins, "Contribution". Stud. in Phil. v.18(1921)p.321/2

2.A.Harbage, Cavalier Drama. New York. 1936. p.214. He says the play seems "from intimations in its prologue, to have been acted in the time of prohibition". In Annals of English Drama 785/1700 (Philadelphia. 1940. p.121) Harbage specifies 1657 as the date of performance. I can reach 1657 only by an inadmissible deduction from unreliable evidence. Whincop (Compleat List. 1747) says: "1. The Walks... a Comedy, acted 1657. This play was acted nineteen Nights together with great Applause. 2.Money's an Ass, a Comedy, acted likewise with Applause."(p.125). Whincop is wrong about the acting of The Walks, having confused the acting and printing dates. His date, like the information that the play was acted nineteen times successively, comes from the 1657 title page. In order to transfer the date 1657 from The Walks to Money is an Asse, it is necessary to take "likewise" as equivalent to "nineteen Nights together". I do not say Harbage's conclusion was reached along these lines, but I have been able to reconstruct no others.

ne're in Print till now[1].

Jordan also says, in this same dedicatory epistle, that

> This Play was writ by Me, & pleas'd the Stage
> When I was not full fifteen Years of Age.[1]

It is this statement which has been taken[2] to indicate a Commonwealth date of acting. Unfortunately it proves too much, particularly as Jordan goes on to say that "Those days" (that is, when the play pleased the stage),

> Those days were spent in Love-lines, Drolls and Laughter[1].

The list of actors prefixed to Money is an Asse also suggests, though not conclusively, a pre-war acting date. The eight actors, who, according to the Prologue,

> never had more Tutor, then the Poet[3],

included Jordan himself, Walter Williams, Thomas Loveday, Thomas Lovel, and Nicholas Sandes. These five were mentioned together, for the only time, in the Court Books of the Mayor of Norwich on 10 March, 1634/5, when they were among twenty-eight actors visiting Norwich who were called before the Court.[4] Nicholas Lowe, another member of Jordan's cast, also had connections with Norwich, being named, along with others not in that cast, in the Mayors' Court Books for June and July 1628 as having a licence to play but not playing.[5] He is not otherwise known, and the remaining two

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1. T. Jordan, Wealth out-witted. sig. A4v. 2. See p. 280 & note 2.
3. T. Jordan, Money is an Asse. 1668. sig. A4.
4. G.E. Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage. 2 vols. Oxford. 1941. p. 286.
5. ibid. p. 499; J.T. Murray, English Dramatic Companies. 1558-1642. 2 vols. London. 1910. v. 2. p. 353.

actors, Ambrose Matchit and William Cherrington, are known only from Jordan's cast-list.[1] All this does not prove that the play was acted at Norwich in 1635, but it is the only information I have found even possibly relating to the play's acting date, and it does not support the view that the play was acted during the Protectorate. Money is an Asse should be excluded from an account of Jordan's contribution to Commonwealth drama.

If, however, we take it as proved that Jordan made some contribution to that drama, and was interested in it, and then turn to its influence on him, we find that it affected his Lord Mayors' Shows, and in particular his most striking individual contribution to them. Jordan on several occasions made the Banquet entertainment, hitherto either non-existent or of no interest to the poet, of outstanding importance. Songs were sung, and twice there were dramatic performances. In 1671 there were a

> piece of Drollery to be sung in Parts, and Shapes by these three, viz.
> Hoyden, the Country-man of the West. Freeman, the Citizen. Billet the Souldier[2];

and a

> Representation to salute his Lordship, which consisteth of three Parts, viz.
> A Countrey-man, A Citizen, and Sedition, an old Instrument of Oliver's Faction[3].

The entertainment of 1678 was a

> Musical Interlude Presented by three Persons; Crab, a West-Country-man; Swab, a Seaman; and Self, a Citizen[4].

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1. G.E.Bentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage. pp.508 & 406.
2. T.Jordan, London's Resurrection. 1671. pp.8/11.
3. ibid. pp.11/17.
4. T.Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1678. pp.14/20

It is perhaps worth noting that Jordan refers to the first piece not only as a "piece or Drollery" but also as "this Droll"[1]; but the term is a vague one, and Jordan's use of it varies. He twice uses it to refer to persons[2], and twice to quite non-dramatic songs.[3] It seems, in fact, that to Jordan the term could be extended to mean, simply,"something jolly!"[4] In the three pieces presented during the Banquets of 1671 and 1678, however, there was not only song and movement, but action. All three are surprisingly similar: they are intended to be sung; the tune changes frequently; they are predominantly in verse; and the action centres in a dispute. In the "droll" Hoyden, the Westcountryman, who speaks with a broad accent, has come to London. Impressed with the fine folks, and smelling the Lord Mayor's Banquet, he tries to enter, but is restrained by Freeman, the citizen, who is whipped for his pains. They come to an agreement on the basis of the mutual usefulness of town and country, and stand aside as Billet the soldier enters. All three now sing a song of unity:

> Bill. Compare the whole Land to the Parts of a Man.
> Hoyd. The Countrey's the Legs and the Toes.
> Free. And, without a Riddle, the City's the Middle.

1.T.Jordan,London's Resurrection. p.11.
2.T.Jordan,London in Luster. 1679. p.16; T.Jordan,The Triumphs of London. 1678. p.13.
3.T.Jordan,London Triumphant.1672.p.13; T.Jordan, The Triumphs of London. 1675. p.20.
4.cf.J.Tatham,Aqua Triumphalis. 1660. sig.B2v; pp.3/6; p.9. There is singing and movement, but no dramatic action.

Bill. The Soldier's the Head. (Hoyd.) And the Nose.[1]

On the note of unionn the "droll" ends.

The "Representation" that accompanies the second course of the Banquet also opens with a broad-speaking Westcountryman visiting London. He has been grossly deceived by the fine pictures painted of it, and finds no food, no shelter, and no kindness. In this state of mind he has found the Lord Mayor's Banquet, but as a gate-crashing spectator, not as a sharer. A citizen now enters, full of admiration for the splendours of his city. He accuses the countryman of being a thief, but apologizes when reminded of the service the country and the city at the time of the Fire. As they are about to go into the Banquet Oliver Faction comes in. Not seeing the others, he exposes himself as a villain; on being addressed he invites the pair to

> follow follow me
> All you that factious be;
> You that are discontent
> Against the Government,
> I'le bring ye amongst valiant fellows
> That can lead ye. (Count.) To the Gallows.[2]

The countryman has been aching to beat Oliver for his subversive talk for some time, and eventually does so. But Oliver, despite his admission of having stolen bacon and beans from the countryman during the Civil

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1. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection. p.10.
2. ibid. p.16.

War, is allowed to join them at the Banquet on a promise to drink His Majesty's health. The "Representation" ends with a chorus in praise of the city:

> Rome shall with her glory so famous in Story,
> Make Tyber pay Tribute to Thames.[1]

Seven years later the "Musical Interlude" opens with a westcountryman gazing in wonder at the transformed London. He is particularly impressed with the Royal Exchange, outside which he is standing. A seaman, Swab, enters with extravagant boasts about himself and his profession, which Crab finally, after listening in increasing indignation, punctures:

> Swab. I did once dive
> Down at Queen-hive,
> I did it all at one jirk,
> And under Water
> Two hours after,
> Crab. Rise agen at Dunkirk.
> Swab. Why thou Sheep-biter, how dar'st thou interrupt me? [2]

As if in a music hall act, Swab tries again, but with no better success. Developing a nice turn of invective, they are about to fight, when one enters who,

> By his venerable pace, and posture,...should be one Mr. Self a Citizen.[3]

After some more farcical exchanges between Swab and Crab, during which Crab raises his whip, but, having met his match, turns the gesture into a song and dance, the three settle down to discussing the cause of their present discontents. Crab and Swab are critical of the city's

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1. T. Jordan, London's Resurrection. p.18.
2. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1678. p.16.
3. Ibid. p.17.

selfishness and luxury, but do not press their points too far, and once again the interlude ends with a chorus of amity and unity.

In length and dramatic action these pieces are as developed as many of the drolls. King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther, King Solomon's Wisdom, and Diphilo and Granido[1] are all shorter than any of Jordan's three pieces, and only the last has as much dramatic action. The Loyal Citizens, The Bubble, and The Humour of Hobbinal[2] are about the same length. But these pieces are not sung; and those that are in verse are not comic; and those that are comic are also in prose. Nevertheless one prose droll may have much influenced Jordan. The plot of Wiltshire Tom[3] concerns the determination with which Tom, a countryman speaking in broad dialect, gate-crashes an entertainment for the Queen.[4] Jordan's was not a dramatically inventive mind. He had, really, but two incidents, both varieties of the debate: an outsider's attempt to gate-crash a gathering; and a quarrel, often involving physical violence, between representatives of different classes or nations. Such a quarrel was the formula for Cupid his Coronation in 1654, was repeated in "The Cheaters Cheated", (an

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1. J.J.Elson, The Wits. pp.291/2; 293/4; 295/6.
2. ibid. 119/122; 139/145: 187/190.
3. ibid. pp.297/304.
4. The source of Wiltshire Tom was the masque The King and Queen's Entertainment at Richmond, 1636. (Elson.p.408).

undated interlude) and evidently formed the theme for the missing Fishmongers' entertainment of 1660[1]. The attempt to gate-crash a gathering appeared in the second Goldsmiths' entertainment of 1660[2]. Both incidents in Jordan's hands usually included a countryman, speaking a broad dialect, as a principal character. Each of these characteristics - the attempt to gate-crash, the quarrel, and the countryman - appeared in one or more of the three interludes that formed part of the Shows of 1671 and 1678. The gate-crashing and the countryman chn be traced back to Wiltshire Tom[3]. There is more evidence of his close acquaintance with this droll. Jordan's last Show is graced by a delightful satire on the pastoral, in which

> Mucedorus and Pastora, the Amorous Shepherd and Shepherdess, Tune up their Voices, and breath out their Passions in this Pastoral Dialogue,
>
> The SONNET.
>
> Mu. DId you not once Pastora Vow
> You would Love none but me?
> Pa. I, but my Mother tells me now
> I must Love Wealth, not thee.[4]

The reader of Wiltshire Tom finds the song there.[5] Jordan has made only one change: "Lucinda" has become the fashionable "Pastora". It is theoretically possible

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1.cf. p.276.
2.cf. p.277.
3.Printed in J.J.Elson, ed. Wits. pt.2. pp.297/304.
4.T.Jordan, London's Royal Triumph. 1684. p.14/15.
5.J.J.Elson,ed. Wits. pp.303/4.

for Jordan to have been influenced by the droll's source rather than by the droll itself. But 1636 is a long way back for even Jordan to go; he had probably not seen the privately performed masque, whereas the drolls were popular for years; and the interludes bear resemblances to drolls other than Wiltshire Tom.

The two drolls directly in question are Simpkin and The Black Man.[1] Both these are comic pieces, entirely or predominantly in verse, and sung to various tunes; Simpkin, the lover, is beaten by an outraged husband; and both are satirical. Their form, in fact, is the same as that of our interludes, and if they are genuine drolls, Jordan applied the term with perfect propriety to one of his pieces.

But it is significant that Simpkin and The Black Man form one of the smallest groups into which the drolls can be divided.[2] The important characteristics that they share with Jordan's pieces are distinguishing, and differentiate them from other drolls. Further, they resemble our interludes in that they are original[3], whereas most of the drolls are simply extracts from older plays or masques with perhaps slight alterations. Simpkin and The Black Man are drolls, but they can also be assigned to another type: the jig.[4]

1.J.J.Elson, The Wits.pp.180/6; pp.271/279.
2.ibid.p.19. Seven types of droll are distinguished.
3.The Black Man owes something to the morality play, The Mariage of Witt and Wisdome, C.1579, but is not either a repetition nor a selection of parts from it.(Elson. p.393).
4.C.R.Baskervill,Elizabethan Jig, reprints both.pp.444/9&465/

It follows that Jordan's interludes can also be so assigned[1]. In one respect indeed, they differ from even Simpkin and The Black Man: they are political. The satire of the two jig-drolls from The Wits, like that of the other pieces in that collection, was very reasonably directed exclusively against private manners and morals, while the butts of the Banquet entertainments are almost exclusively public. Even in the "Musical Interlude" of Crab, Swab, and Self, though the comedy of the first section comes from the discomfiture of the vainglorious cowardly Swab - who in character as well as name is reminiscent of John Swabber of the droll of that name[2] - yet the emphasis is finally placed squarely on the need for unity in the body politic. In contrast to the drolls, political satire is characteristic of many jigs, and had been so throughout Jordan's time. For

> Three waves of satire and polemics spent themselves in the struggle of Protestant and Catholic, of Anglican and Puritan, and of Puritan and Cavalier...with Cavalier and Puritan in the seventeenth century, the previously subordinated political point of view became all important...In the two later movements there is record of the satiric jig[3].

Jordan's interludes link up not only with the political jig, but also with the 'flyting' jigs - though again the scope is extended from private to social life.

1.C.R.Baskervill,Elizabethan Jig,(pp.428/31) prints Jordan's piece of Hoyden, Freeman, and Billet as a "droll".
2.J.J.Elson,The Wits. pp.191/203.
3.C.R.Baskervill,Elizabethan Jig. p.43.

'Flyting' jigs seem to have been popular as dramatic substitutes during the Interregnum. Gayton, writing then, complaing that

> Our Tragedy is chang'd into pure Comedie, and instead of a Prize, we are like to have a jigge of two principall Clownes, each gibing the other, they are now at the Ti-hee, and without tickling, laugh till their sides ake[1].

Jordan wrote no Lord Mayors' Shows during the Interregnum, but his inspiration was drawn partly from that period, and one of the interludes included in his Shows was composed either before or immediately after the Restoration. The piece of Hoyden, Freeman, and Self was first printed in Merry Drollery, 1661.[2] There is, however, no need to assume an equally early date of composition for the other two. "Flyting" jigs remained popular, and D'Urfey satirized their appearance at a feast, with his sung "Dialogue between two Fish-Wives", as late as 1699/1700.[3]

These three interludes must be placed among the most highly developed and dramatic jigs. Several other of Jordan's songs are in dialogue and have a touch of dramatic feeling, but are much less fully developed. Some of them might be considered as jigs, but one song, not in dialogue, forces itself upon the attention both as a very good piece of work, and as

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1. E.Gayton, Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot. 1654. p.108.
2. Merry Drollery. 1661. pp.171/175. (Only copy: Bodleian Wood 326
3. T.D'Urfey, Massaniello. 1700. pt.1. pp.44/5.

a fine example of the blended satiric news jig and nonsense news jig, both old forms. From the beginning of the seventeenth century comes a news song closely comparable with Jordan's. They have in common an early introduction of the word "news", a refrain, and a satiric pretence of belief. "Newes good and true"[1] is a dialogue between two acquaintances:

Iohn. Now welcome neighbour Rowland,
From London welcome home,
What newes is there I pray you?
From thence I heare you come.
Row. The best that ere you heard,
Youle say't when I you shew.
Iohn. I hardly can beleeue it,
'Tis too good to be true.

Row. The Lawyer in his pleading
To gaine giues no respect,
Though Clients haue no mony,
He doth not them neglect:
But truly pleades their cause,
Of these there be not few.
Iohn. I never will beleeue it,
'Tis too good to be true.

Satirical news and nonsense news were combined in several Restoration songs, like "Nonsence"[2] and "News"[3]. Neither of these spirited songs was as good as "News from the Coffee House", which was probably composed during the English-Dutch War of 1665/7. The song was printed without a title in The Triumphs of London, 1675, but had already appeared as "News from the Coffee House"

1.H.Rollins, Pepysian Garland. Cambridge. 1922. pp.217/21.
2.J.W.Ebsworth, ed. Merry Drollery Compleat...1691. Boston, Lincs. 1875. pp.29/30.
3.ibid. pp.159/61.

under that title eight years previously.[1] The hostile references to the Dutch in the poem make it probable that it had been composed not much earlier: that war started in 1665. The anonymity on that occasion is no reason to supoose it not Jordan's: he not infrequently wrote well and he re-used his own earlier work[2] as well as, sometimes, other people's; the comparatively slight gap of eight years between its first and second appearance in print is too small for there to be a parallel case between the poem and "DId you not once Pastora Vow". I quote the first, second, fourth, and ninth stanzas:

YOU that delight in Wit and Mirth,
And love to hear such News;
That come from all parts of the Earth,
Turks, Dutch, and Danes and Jews.
I'll send ye to the Rendezvouz,
Where it is smoaking new;
Go hear it at a Coffee-House,
It cannot but be true.

There Battails and Sea-Fights are fought,
And bloudy Plots displaid;
They know more things than ere was thought,
Or ever was bewray'd.
No money in the Minting House,
Is half so bright and new;
And coming from the Coffee-House,
It cannot be but true.

A Fisher-man did boldly tell,
And strongly did avouch,
He caught a shole of Mackarell,
That parley'd all in Dutch,
And cry'd out, Yaw, yaw, yaw min hare.
And as the draught they drew,
They stunk for fear that Monk was there,
This sounds as if 'twere true.

1. Luttrell Collection. v. 2. p.146.

2. cf. p.289.

You shall know there what fashions are,
How Perriwiggs are Curld;
And for a penny you shall hear
All Novels in the World;
Both old, and young, and great, and small,
And rich and poor, you'll see;
Therefore let's to the Coffee all,
Come all away with me.[1]

The jig field is so wide that, inevitably, not all the thirty-odd songs or Jordan's Shows can be dissociated from it, but it is more convenient to discuss them under various headings. Although one may make the generalization that the songs sung during the Banquets tend to be longer and more complicated than those sung in the open air during the course of the Show, one must not apply the generalization too rigidly. Such a song as

OF all the blest Lives in the World that are fam'd[2]

is as long and complex as those sung while the Banquet was in progress. The best basis of division is according to the type of song.

In Jordan's hands a pastoral song was by no means always serious. He could take the fashionable convention seriously, and write a song that would not have disgraced the taste of a sentimental young lady in a contemporary play:

TELL me not I my time mispend,
'Tis time lost to reprove me:
Pursue thou thine, I have my end,
So Cloris onely love me.

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1. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1675. pp. 22/4.

> Tell me not others Flocks are full,
> Mine poor, let them despise me,
> Who more abound in Milk and Wool,
> So Cloris onely prize me.
>
> Tyre other easier Ears with these
> Unappertaining Stories,
> He never feels the Worlds Disease,
> That cares not for his Glories.[1]

But this acceptance of the courtly pastoral convention is rare, for Jordan had a satirical mind, and besides, he was writing for a bourgeois audience, the bourgeois audience, whose relief at the demise of the Commonwealth was short-lived, and who in any case had always despised the French manners and frivolous ways of the Court. The song quoted, in part, above, is followed on the same spot and after only one speech by the satire on the pastoral convention taken from Wiltshire Tom. A further satirical device is to turn the idle, well-bred, languishing Pastoras and Chloes into bouncing, well-fed country girls, who

> make men revive, with our Singing and Dances;
> There's no flesh alive like Fidelia and Frances;
> At Trap-ball and Stool-ball, Rebecca and Rachel,
> Stephania doth stop well, and Katey can catch well:
> They trip it and lip it, they laugh and are merry,
> With Cheese-cakes and Ale that's as brown as a berry.[2]

This realistic approach has the advantage of allowing Jordan to satirize Court life. Traditionally shepherds proclaimed their delight at being free from the cares and fears of Court and town[3], but the remote charm of

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1. T. Jordan, London's Royal Triumph. pp. 1[illegible]3 b. (Stanzas 1/3).
2. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1675. p. 19. (Stanza 6. Chorus expanded from stanza 1).
3. cf. ibid. stanza 5.

the pastoral would have been destroyed, as Jordan's robuster atmosphere was not, by these lines:

> We multiply not with unnatural heats,
> Nor kiss by the strength of provocative meats[1].

Certain songs might be described as bourgeois pastoral lyrics. In one of them Jordan might with profit have remembered his own dictum that

> Should I declare the Worthies that are,
> And did to this Place belong,
> 'Twould puzzel my wit; and I think it more fit
> For a Chronicle than a Song.[2]

Drapers' Shows naturally often had a scene of shepherds, or a scene of notable Drapers, or both, but it took Jordan to put Arcadia and Henry Fitz-Alwin into the same poem. After he and Pastora had extolled the virtues of some of the Biblical shepherds, Opilio turned to Greece, remembering that

> Apollo (ador'd as a God yet) did keep
> On Thessalian Mountains King Admetus's Sheep;
> Past. And Pan must not be
> Forgotten by me,
> Whom Shepherds did Worship as their Deity.
> Opi. In Arcadian plains he Dominion did bear,
> When Argalus and his Parthenia were there[3].

After a stanza on Tamburlaine, the pair somewhat incongruously end on a peaceable note, for

> we simple Shepherds on Salsbury plain,
> Live in more content than some Princes that Raign:
> ...We are not for Pistols, Guns, Backsword, nor Rapiers,

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1. Ibid. stanza 4. 2. T. Jordan, Goldsmiths Jubile. p.11.
3. T. Jordan, London In Luster. p.18.

But pray for good Tradeing amongst LONDON Drapers,
Of whose Corporation and Society
Sir Henry Fitz-Alwin first Lord Mayor was Free.
Who, as it appears
By our Overseers,
Did Rule as Lord May'r above Twenty four yeers.
And it is presum'd (he so justly did do)
If he had not dy'd then, might have sat there till now.
Then let's sing and Dance up, Curvet, and cut Capers,
Wee'l pray for the King, the Lord Mayor, and the Drapers.[1]

The comparable songs in the Grocers' Shows -"With Mattock, Spade, Pruning-Hook, Shovel & Sieve"[2] and "WE are Jolly Planters that live in the East"[3] - resemble the pastorals only in the idyllic picture they draw of country life. In the second song the singer and his supporters are represented as "all Blacks". They are, perhaps, parallel to pastoral songs: the idle urban Court dreamed of escape to some equally idle but more "natural" life; the thrifty energetic London merchants likewise liked to think of living a simpler life without changing their essential qualities:

With Mattock, Spade, Pruning-Hook, Shovel, & Sieve,
What a Life of Delight do we Labourers live?
The bonny brisk Planter (for delving design'd)
Hath Health in his Body, and Peace in his Mind.
Though this as a Curse in the Scripture we read,
In the Sweat of thy brows thou shalt purchase thy Bread.
Chorus. Yet by Patience and Labour, in Digging and Dressing,
Th'old Curse is Converted into a new Blessing.

Both Drapers' and Grocers' "pastorals" are also var-

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1. Ibid. final stanza.
2. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1678. pp.13.
3. T. Jordan, London's Joy. 1681. pp.13/14.

lations on trade songs. Although there were many trade songs apart from the Lord Mayors' Shows[1], this civic occasion was a very rich source for them. Jordan's Clothworkers' song; was, like the two just considered, sung in the course of a pageant in which were various persons miming the work done in the trade. Since it is singling out this Company for praise, the song suggests that the Clothworker's is the fundamental task upon which thepossibility of other trades depends:

> The Clothworker than
> Is th'accomplishing man
> For Merchant, and Draper, and Taylor [2].

The song Jordan composed for the Merchant Taylors similarly magnifies their office:

> Of all the Professions that ever were nam'd,
> The Taylor's though slighted, is much to be fam'd:
> For various Invention and Antiquity,
> No Trade with the Taylors compared may be:
> For warmth and distinction and Fashion he doth
> Provide for both Sexes with Silk, Sturf and Cloth.
> Then do not disdain him or slight him, or flout him,
> Since (if well consider'd) you can't live without him.
> But let all due Praises (that can be) be made
> To honour and dignifie the Taylers Trade.[3]

The Goldsmiths' song[4], like the one just quoted from, was long and sung during the Banquet. Appropriately, it goes farther than any other song in glorifying wealth and the power that comes from wealth. The citizens'

1.cf. pp.269/70 & C.Mackay,"A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades." Percy Society Publications. v.1. 1841.
2.T.Jordan,Londons Triumphs. p.20.
3.T.Jordon,Londons Glory. 1680. p.12.
4.T.Jordan,Goldsmiths Jubile. p.11.

Treasure and Pleasure, their Pow'r and Command[1],

are all, according to Jordan, used for good; for example,

> No Town under Heaven doth give, or has given,
> Such portions to sons, or such dowries to daughters.[1]

The religious sanction of prosperity is particularly explicit. The Great Fire was

> A Punishment due for Sin[2],

but London became prosperous again with amazing speed,

> For Mercy doth hold her up[2],

until now

> The promised Land's in a Londoner's hand[3].

The song has no trace of conservative social values. Jordan speaks of

> One meanly Descended, and weakly attended,
> By Fortune befriended, in this City plac'd;
> From pence unto crowns, & frō crowns unto pounds,
> Up to hundreds, and thousands hath risen at last.
> To chain of Gold, and treasure untold,
> In Skarlet, on Horse-back, to boot;
> (To th'Joy of his Mother) when his elder Brother
> It may be, has gone a foot.
> Such is the Fate of temporal State;
> For Providence thinks it fit,
> Since the Eldest begat must enjoy the Estate,
> The Youngest shall have the Wit[3].

The other pageant poets are, compared with Jordan, novices at introducing into their Shows music and songs: except trade songs. Tatham's songs[4] were trade songs, and both Taubman and Settle continued to write them.

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1. T. Jordan, Goldsmiths Jubile. p.11.
2. ibid. p.12.
3. ibid. p.11.
4. cf. pp.269/272.

Taubman has a pleasant and unpretentious lyric in honour of the Mercers' Company, whose crest was the Blessed Virgin, and who had pre-eminence in procession even among the twelve major Companies.

> Advance the Virgin, lead the Van:
> Of all that are in London free,
> The Mercer is the foremost Man
> That founded a Society.
> Chor. Of all the Trades that London grace,
> We are the first in Time and Place.
>
> When Nature in perfection was,
> And Virgin-Beauty in her prime;
> The Mercer gave the Nymph a gloss,
> And made ev'n Beauty more sublime.
> Chor. In this above our Brethren blest,
> The Virgin's since our Coat and Crest.[1]

The touch of wit in the second stanza is rare in Taubman, and helps to make this his best trade song; but the spirited Ironmongers' song has a certain merit. I quote the second stanza:

> Gold and Silver in the using
> Melts like Wax before the Sun,
> Fertile Ir'n is still producing
> A new Off-spring of her own.
> Gold and Silver in the using
> (While this stays behind) is flown.[2]

Settle's Merchant Taylors' song[3] is one of his best songs. Although printed as an appendage to the descriptive pamphlet it was certainly intended to be sung in the course of the penultimate pageant "The Ship", by the jolly crew. His Clothworkers' song ~~has some ingenious~~ turns an old story into trade imagery. He argues that

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1. M. Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. 1686. p.14.
2. M. Taubman, London's Annual Triumph. 1685. pp.13/14.
3. E. Settle, Triumphs of London. 1693. pp.19/20.

Since Fortune's but Whele, and the great Book
or Doom.
With Life but a Thred in the work of the Loom,
The Fates those dire Sisters
Our Destiny Twisters;
'Tis Clothworking all. For Living or Dead,
'Tis he's only blest that spins a fair Thred[1].

Just as the pastoral songs merge into trade songs, so they in their turn are not always wholly distinct from drinking songs. Taubman's Mercers' song ends with a health to the King; and although a toast comes as a natural conclusion to a song sung after a course of the Banquet, Settle's crew, singing in the open air, end their song in the same way. With Settle's Vintner's trade song, the identification is naturally complete. It appropriately shows appreciation of open-handedness and good temper:

Let misers in Garrets hide up their gay Store,
And heap their Rich Bags to live wretchedly Poor.
'Tis the Cellar alone with true Fame is renown'd,
Her Treasure's diffusive and chears all around:
The Gold and the Gem but the Eyes gawdy Toy;
But the Vintners rich Juice gives Health, Life
and Joy[2].

Jordan's best drinking song is "The COR-ONATION OF CANARY". It includes a little mild satire on the various types of drinker to be seen around town. One might, as one went, a cooper

With a Red-Nose see,
But in any part o'th' Town;
That same Cooper shall
With his Adds Royal
Be the keeper of the Crown.

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1. E. Settle, Triumphs of London. 1694. pp. 11/12.
2. E. Settle, Triumphs of London. 1702. p. 6.

Young Wits that wash
Away their Cash
In Wine and Recreation,
That hate dull Beer
Are welcom here,
To give their Approbation:
So shall all you
That will allow
Canary's Coronation.[1]

It is to be hoped that his Lordship was not a close observer of Jordan's career, for he would hardly have felt flattered had he realised that Jordan had resurrected this song, with a few alterations, from his own Commonwealth masque, Fancy's Festivals.[2] Jordan was the most consistent reviver of old materials, but not the worst offender against tact and taste in doing so. In 1689 Matthew Taubman regaled his hearers with a song celebrating political irresponsibility in mediocre verse: a song, moreover, that many members of its audience must have heard on the same occasion two years previously when it had been addressed to a very different monarch. The King is seen as a benevolent, wise, laborious father, so that

> while He for Us is still caring and thinking,
> We have nothing to mind but our Shops and our Trade,
> And then to divert us with Drinking,
> And then to divert us with Feasting and Drinking.[3]

The Glorious Revolution made little impact on Taubman's mind. His drinking songs from any time, however,

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1. T. Jordan, London in Luster. p.20.
2. T. Jordan, Fancy's Festivals. sig.C2/C3.
3. M. Taubman, Londons Great Jubilee. 1689. pp.13/14.

form a poor collection. Even the one[1] that opens so promisingly rapidly deteriorates from the first lines:

> THE Storm is all over, a Halcyon Calm
> Has smooth'd the rough face or the Sea:
> Crown every Glass with a Garland of Palm,
> The Emblem or Victory.

The Lord Mayors' Shows, as the expressions or the dignity of the City of London, whose wealthy merchants were playing an increasingly important part in the national life, inevitably had political and social assumptions and implications. But Jordan's songs show a freedom and daring in political and social satire and comment that is surprising. He does not show a consistent point or view, his own, or the Court's, or his audience's: almost everything vulnerable became at some point an object of his attack. But his tone was light-hearted, even gay, and lacking in bitterness.

The entertainment at the Banquet or 1672 was exclusively political and social satire.[2] The first song,

> LEt's Drink and Droll and Dance and Sing[3],

considers the age, in a rollicking fashion, from "our Holy War" onwards. It is true that Parliament,

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1.M.Taubman,London's Annual Triumph. pp. 12/13. cf. "COme, Boys, Drink an Health to the Chiefs or the CITY" ,M.Taubman, Londons Great Jubilee. 1689. pp.14/15.
2.cf. pp.281/4 for the Banquet entertainment or 1671.
3.T.Jordan,London Triumphant. p.13.

sectaries, Presbyterians, and the Lord Protector all come out very badly, but the present age is little better, and certainly not improving, for if we

> sum up all that hath been done
> From Forty Two till Seventy One,
> Then he that loves changes
> Let him go on:
> But I'le venture my Fiddle and Forty to One
> 'Twill be worser.

There is an ambiguous note, a hit at Restoration effeminacy, in Jordan's celebration of

> this present Age,
> Where freedom enlargeth the bounds of the Stage:
> 'Tis pleasanter far than Ruin and Rage, That swagger'd and sway'd,
> When Oliver play'd
> The Protector.
>
> Our Ensigns now are turn'd to Smocks,
> And Ladies fight with their Fire-locks;
> Wine, Women and Sturgeon
> Make work for the Surgeon,
> The bonny Buff-Jacket
> Doth tilt at a Placket
> Of Roses.

But the sting of the song really lies in its final stanza. Bishop Burnet relates[1] how the King determined to be revenged on Sir John Coventry, for his question in the House, in 1669,

> whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men, or the women that acted.

Not surprisingly, this was interpreted as an attack on the King's private life, but the form the revenge took was uncivilized in the extreme. Some of the King's

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1. G. Burnet, History of His Own Time. 1724. pp.269/70.

guards, under immediate orders rrom the Duke or Monmouth, attacked Coventry arter dark, and cut his nose to the bone. This incident naturally occasioned a considerable uproar, and it is surely to it that Jordan is referring when, in the rinal lines or the song, he warns his audience to

> be no Talkers,
> For rear the Night-walkers
> Do watch ror our Words,
> And wait with their Swords,
> For our Noses.

"The Discontented CAVALIER",[1] a "Medley" sung to six successive tunes, rollowed this "droll" and continued the attack on the Court and, by implication, on the King. The rirst air is a lament or a Royalist who had risked land and life and gone unrewarded. Because or this he will

> never trust good Fellow more,
> For I was told
> My Shelves should shine with Gold
> Bright as Tagus yellow shore:
> But now the Iron Age is gone,
> An Age of Stone
> I fear is rolling on;
> Or a heavy Leaden one.
> Old Loyalty is cramp'd with cold,
> And laid a side like Tales too often told;
> Or not regarded, because 'tis old:
> Our Trumpet's turn'd into a Shalm,
> But yet our wounds have neither tent nor balm,
> We freeze in Fire, drown in a Calm.

Here Jordan was using an approach that had been pop-

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1. T. Jordan, London Triumphant. pp. 15/16.

ular ever since it became slear that those who had suffered for the Stuarts would not be recompensed for their loyalty. From the very time of the Restoration date two broadsides, "The Cavaleers Complaint"[1] and "The Cavaleers Letany"[2], that express this view. In the first of these one cavalier explains to another over a pot of ale the disillusion he endured when he went to Court,

> in hope to find
> Some of my Friends in Place;
> And walking There, I had a sight
> Of all the Crew: But, by this Light,
> I hardly knew One Face!
>
> Slife, of so many Noble Sparkes,
> Who, on their Bodies, bear the Markes
> Of their Integritie,
> And suffer'd Ruine of Estate;
> It was my damn'd unhappy Fate,
> That I not One could see!

Merry Drollery Compleat, 1691, contains quite a collection of songs parallel in some way to "The Discontented CAVALIER". There is "An Eccho to the Cavaleers complaint"[3], and, when Charles II's Court had taken shape, there are songs complaining like Jordan's of modern manners and French influence. Superficial fashions are all that matter when

> Your Gallant & his Taylor come half year together,
> To fit a new suit to a new hat and feather,
> Of Gold, or of Silver, silk cloath, stuff, or leather,
> And is not Old England grown new? [4]

1.B.M.Thomason Collection. 669.f.26(69). 2.ibid.669.f.27(1).
3.J.W.Ebsworth, ed. Merry Drollery Compleat. pp.54/6.
4.ibid. pp.266/8.

"A Medley"[1] parallel in form as well as in content, is satirical about French influence, and has a dramatic touch when the author has

> the French Monsieur come 'and swear,
> Intreut Monsieur [Entrait]
> Dis is de ting ve long to hear so many year[1] .

It is to these and other aspects of the Restoration that Jordan passes in the four succeeding airs. Through the mouth of the discontented cavalier he attacks the things that were obnoxious also to the respectable bourgeois: loose living, taxes, the dominant politicians, French influence, and even the stage. The nostalgia of the cavalier returns in the fifth air, that sums up the complaints and at the same time includes a satirical hit at the people who make the complaints.

Times may have changed,

> but Crimes are the same;
> Nothing is right
> To the minds that delight
> In Reformation;
> Pride and Ambition are Cocks or the Game
> He that can gallant it in the French rode,
> Swear he is valiant, and dance A la mode,
> By Ladies Letter-case,
> Shall have a better place
> Than me or he
> That hath indur'd the lode.

At this point Jordan abruptly changes the atmosphere of his song, and ends it with a toast to His Majesty. And high time too! For Charles was sitting there in the audience. He may well have wished he had stayed

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1.ibid. pp.138/40. cf. "A New Medley", ibid. pp.333/7.

away when he found himself a principal butt of the satire. The freedom that Jordan assumed has been remarked on with astonishment.[1] On the assumption that Jordan knew that he was going to entertain His Majesty [illegible] courage is certainly extraordinary. But Jordan specifically says that

> IT was so late e're we had Information, that we must refer..to the narrow limits of a Postcript...That the Kings Most Excellent Majesty is pleased to illustrate these Triumphs with his most Gracious Presence, and to Dine at Guild-Hall.[2]

It may be that Jordan added the somewhat incongruous final lines to his song in an attempt to soften his shafts.

The third and fourth songs of the Banquet entertainment are purely social, as distinct from political, satire. The third[3] contains a further hit at the stage -

> Oxford and Cambridge we lay by,
> For Play-house University -

somewhat surprising for one or Jordan's background and interests. The last song, entitled here simply "A Song"[4] but more usually known as "The Prodigal's Resolution" is one of the best pieces to be found in the Lord Mayors' Shows. It celebrates the rise of a family from humble circumstances.

1.F.W.Fairholt,"The Civic Garland". Percy Society Publications. Vol.19. 1846. p.42.
2.T.Jordan,London Triumphant. p.29.
3.ibid. pp.17/18.
4.ibid. pp.19/20.

I Am a lusty lively Lad,
Now come to One and Twenty,
My Father left me all he had,
Both Gold and Silver plenty;
Now He's in Grave, I will be Brave,
The Ladies shall adore me,
I'le Court and Kiss, what hurt's in this?
My Dad did so before me.

My Grandam liv'd at Washington,
My Grandsire delv'd in Ditches,
The Son of Old John Thrashington,
Whose Lanthorn Leathern Breeches,
Cry'd, Whether go ye, whether go ye?
Though men do now adore me,
They ne're did see my Pedigree,
Nor who was born before me.

My Grandsir, striv'd, and Wiv'd, & thriv'd,
Till he did Riches gather,
And when he had much Wealth atchiev'd,
O! then he got my Father:
Of happy Memory cry I,
That e're his Mother bore him,
I had not been worth one Penny,
Had I been born before him.

To Free-School, Cambridge and Grays-Inn
My Gray-coat Grandsir put him,
Till to forget he did begin
The Leathern Breech that got him:
One dealt in Straw, t'other in Law,
The one did ditch and delve it,
My Father store of Satin wore,
My Grandsir Beggars Velvet.

My Father to get my Estate,
Though Selfish yet was Slavish,
I'll spend it at another rate,
And be as lewdly Lavish:
From Mad-men, Fools, and Knaves, he did
Litigiously receive it,
If so he did? Justice forbid,
But I to such should leave it.

At Play-houses, and Tennis Court,
I'll prove a Noble Fellow,
I'l Court my Doxies to the Sport,
Of, O brave Punchinello!

I'le Dice and Drab, and Drink and Stab,
No Hector shall out-roar me;
If Teachers tell me Tales of Hell,
My Father is gone before me.[1]

This poem or song proved deservedly popular. It appeared, anonymously and undated, by itself[2], and found its way into ~~several~~ two collections of songs[3], all published after 1672. Wolfgang Franck, in his Remedium Melancholiae[4], gave the words in a truncated and diluted version of three stanzas. The first two are the first and penultimate stanzas of the song as printed in London Triumphant , and the third is an inferior version of the last:

Then I'll to Court, where Venus sport,
Doth Revel it in plenty;
And deal with all, both great and small,
From twelve to five and twenty.
In Play-houses I'll spend my Days,
For there are store of Misses;
Ladies, make room, behold I come,
To purchase many Kisses.[5]

This version got into the second part, written "By several Gentlemen of the Universities, and Others", of Jane Barker's Poetical Recreations[5], and Franck may have taken it from there. On all these occasions, the poem or song, in whatever version it appeared, was anonymous. But in the 1722 edition of Poetical Re-

1. The stanzas quoted are nos.1,4,5,6,10,11.
2. Roxburgh Ballads, 4,p.82. (With woodcuts).
3. ~~J.Playford,Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues.1676.~~ ; H.Playford,Wit and Mirth.1699.pp.57/60; W.Franck,Remedium Melancholiae.1690.p.6. ~~J.Playford,Songs Compleat.1683.~~
4. W.Franck,Remedium Melancholiae .p.6.
5. J.Barker,Poetical Recreations.1688. pt.2.pp.150/1.

creations eleven poems were ascribed to Sir Charles Sedley, besides the one originally claimed by "C.S." The ascription is practically valueless, as no less than seven of the eleven have been traced to other authors including John Donne, and not one has been definitely ascertained to be Sedley's.[1] "I Am a lusty lively Lad" is one of the remaining four. Such other external evidence as there is is in favour of Jordan's authorship. The earliest known appearance of the poem is in London Triumphant; and the Show has a full text and not a truncated version. The next earliest appearance is in Playford's Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues four years later. In 1672, for the first time, Playford published the pamphlet describing the Lord Mayor's Show, and thereafter continued to publish the pamphlets as long as Jordan was responsible for the Shows, but not much longer.[2] It looks as if Jordan and Playford were working together; if so, Playford would have easy access to Jordan's work, with the author's blessing.

Internal evidence is also, though not conclusively, in Jordan's favour. The only point against is in the poem's consistent merit. Jordan did not lack ability: in this Show itself, some sections of "The

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1.V.de Sola Pinto, The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley. 2 vols. London. 1928. v.1.p.xvi.
2.cf. Bibliography. section B.

Discontented CAVALIER" and or "LEt's Drink and Droll" are excellent or their kind. But Jordan did lack consistency, and "Newes from the Coffee House" is perhaps the only other example in the Shows of excellence maintained throughout a fairly long poem. Vigour, the other most conspicuous quality of "The Prodigal's Resolution", is thoroughly characteristic of Jordan, and is never in more evidence than ~~xxxx~~ in his poems of social satire like this, and like "The EPICVRE"[1] and "YOu that delight in Wit and Mirth"? The themes of "The Prodigal's Resolution" are very suitable to a song sung to the City rather than to the Court, and they are themes found elsewhere in Jordan's work. He is plainly an author who does not regard a man's rising above his station in life with serious disapproval. That is clear from the light-hearted tone of the poem, and Jordan made the point specifically and positively in another song.[3] The character of the young gallant's father is plainly drawn in a stanza not quoted above; he was

> a Thrirty Sir,
> Till Soul and Body sundred,
> Some say he was a Usurer,
> For Thirty in the Hundred;
> ~~He xxxxxx~~ and ~~xxxxxx~~
> He scrapt and scracht,/She pinch'd and patch'd
> That in Her Body bore me,

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1. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1675. pp.20/22.
2. ibid. pp.22/24.
3. T. Jordan, Goldsmiths Jubile. p.12. Quoted on p.297.

But I'le let Flie, good cause why,
My Father was born before me.[1]

A man with these same abilities - to bargain hard, to live hard, and to save for the future - appears elsewhere in Jordan's poems, together with a verbal resemblance:

The Usurer that in the hundred takes Twenty,
Who wants in his Wealth, and doth pine in his Plenty;
Lays up for a season which he shall ne'r see,
The Year of One thousand eight hundred and three.
His Wit and his Wealth, his Law, Learning, and sence,
Shall be turn'd into nothing a hundred year hence.[2]

The butts of the detailed satire of "I Am a lusty lively Lad" - theatres, tarts, wild gallants - are conspicuous in most of Jordan's satirical songs, but are so common as to constitute poor evidence. Nevertheless, the balance of the internal evidence is for his authorship, and the external evidence against it is so poor that it is a pity that the point ever had to be raised.

For some time after 1672 Jordan confined himself to social rather than political satire. The song[2]

LEt us drink and be merry, dance, Joke, and Rejoice,
...For we shall be nothing a hundred year hence

is partly quoted above. Most of it would pass as an unusually varied and entertaining drinking song were it not to be

Sung by one in the habit of a Town Gallant[2].

1. Second stanza.
2. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1675. p.20.

This device allows the City audience to enjoy the song and at the same time to read their own objections to frivolity into the hedonist lines. The gallant is speaking in character when he demands

> Then why should we turmoil in Cares and in Fears,
> Turn all our Tranquillity to Sighs and Tears?
> Let's eat, drink and play till the Worms do corrupt us,
> 'Tis certain, that post mortem nulla Voluptas.
> Let's deal with our Damsels, that we may from thence
> Have Broods to succeed us a hundred year hence.

The device also allows Jordan to attack some traditional objects of satire, who would be more obnoxious to the gallant than to the merchants assembled: the usurer, and

> Your Chancery Lawyer who by Conscience thrives
> In spinning of Suits to the length of three Lives.

By the end of the song the personation is forgotten, and it is as citizen not as courtier that the singer complains of

> Your most Christian Mounsieur who rants it in Riot,
> Not suffering his more Christian Neighbours live quiet.

The next year saw Jordan turning a topical event to satirical use. Bethlehem Hospital, after escaping the Great Fire, was nevertheless moved to a new site in Moorfields. By 1676 the new building was completed, and Jordan commemorated[1] the improved

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1. T. Jordan, London's Triumphs. 1676. pp.15/19.

facilities for taking lawyers, quack doctors, those mad for love, intelligent young men turned gallants, young citizens turned poets, alchemists, misers with spendthrift sons, and tormented husbands. The eclectic selection of the subjects of satire makes the poem professionally satiric rather than exclusively suited to its audience. Lawyers, alchemists, and quacks were traditional objects of satire; cuckolds were especially butts of the aristocratic stage, and if the contemporary[1] gibes about the unfaithfulness of citizens' wives had much foundation in fact the subject may have gone home here; but sons who became gallants and poets when they might have been prosperous members of the middle class were naturally peculiarly obnoxious and dangerous to Jordan's audience. This subject of satire persisted into the next century and was used by Pope, who lamented

> A Clerk, foredoom'd his Father's soul to cross,
> Who pens a stanza when he should engross?...
> Arthur, whose giddy Son neglects the Laws,
> Imputes to me and my damn'd works the cause[2].

The theme of the miser with spendthrift sons has already been cited as an example of Jordan's repetitiveness.

It is somewhat surprising that the poem was confined to social satire, since Jordan was presented with a magnificent opportunity for an attack on the

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1. cf. p. 157.
2. A. Pope, Epistle...to Dr. Arbuthnot. London. 1734. p. 2.

Puritans. Caius Gabriel Cibber carved over the stone piers of the great gate of New Bedlam Colley's "brazen brainless brothers", Dementia and Acute Mania, and tradition had it that the figures were designed from Cromwell's porter, who had been admitted as a patient in 1656.[1]

Even when, during the Banquet entertainment of the following year, Jordan used the theme of Bethlehem Hospital for a satire on the sects, he did not make this particular point. The song[2] is on the same plan as "The Vicar of Bray" in the next century, though it is rather less good-tempered; it was performed by

> one of the City Musicians being attired like a New-bedlamite with apt action and audible Voice.

The singer, who claims

> I Am the woful'st Mad-man
> That e're came near your knowledge,
> I thrice have in
> New-Prison been,
> And twice in Bedlam Colledge

gives details, in the space of thirty stanzas, of the sects of which he has successively been a member. He has been Protestant, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, Brownist, Independent, Seeker, Antimomian, Leveller, Fifth Monarchy man, Shaker, Quaker, Arminian,

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1. W. Kent, Encyclopaedia of London. London. 1951. p. 35.
2. T. Jordan, Londons Triumphs. pp. 3/4.

And would have been a Papist,
But having not
Much Learning got
I last of all turn'd Atheist.

It is a lively song, and with its account of the actions of the sects - the Presbyterians "beat up Drums for nothing", the Anabaptists make mouths and squint, the Seekers send people blind - gives plenty of scope to the actor. The various allegations are compounded in nice proportions of fact and malice.

Jordan may have aptly applied the character of a crazy sectarian to topical events, but there was quite a body of such songs.[1] The most famous, "The mad Zealot", written by Bishop Corbet, who died in 1635, was still well known in Jordan's day, as it appeared again several times during the Restoration.[2] It is possible that Jordan owes a rhyme - admittedly a fairly obvious one - to the Bishop's chorus, that ran:

Boldly I preach, hate a Crosse, hate a Surplice,
Mitres, Copes, and Rochets:
Come hear me pray nine times a day,
And fill your heads with Crochets.

Jordan's sectarian says that at first

The Common Prayer and Organ,
The Surplice, Copes and Rotchets
I then upheld,
Till I was fill'd
With Presbyterian Crotchets.[3]

1.cf. "The Age of the Mad-Folks". Luttrell Collection of Ballads. v.2. p.2.
2.Rump.pt.1. pp.237/42; J.W.Ebsworth,Merry Drollery Compleat.pt.2. pp.235/7.
3.cf.T.Jordan,London's Resurrection.p.15.

Jordan very appropriately returned to satire on political religion in 1680. The Lord Mayor that year was Sir Patience Ward, a scion of a Protestant family who came by his name in true Puritan fashion: his father, having had six sons and one daughter, said[1] that if he had another son he would call him Patience, which he accordingly did, despite persuasions to the contrary. He was destined for the ministry, but

> the Civil War coming in gave great Interruption to his Learning for that family being reckon'd Puritans & active in reforming Abuses or Innovations in the Church, or the abating the Altars as they called them & turning the communion table and such like things; & also the supporting the Growth of Popery, which at that time...did very much increase; in taking away on search by Warrants of Copes, Crucifixes, & such like trinkets, that were against Law & Religion contracted the greatest Enmity, that could be assured the most evil treatment; the Family being in the very first of the War, driven from their Habitation, & all seized on except what was privately carried away; which this young Youth was also employed in, & with the rest endured many sorrows in hunger & cold & heat & wearisome travels both on foot & horseback...He was trained up as in the School of affliction[1].

Not surprisingly, Patience Ward remained a devout Protestant, so stubborn that when he was finally sent to Cambridge, he did not stay in the place on hearing, directly after his arrival, of "the Method & Course of the Town"[1]. He settled in London, and there learnt accounts and became apprenticed to a merchant. This

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1.P.Ward,Memoirs of S[r] Patience Ward Knt. written by himself. 4224 PLUT. CVI.H. (B.M. MS).

was the man who caused to be placed on the Monument and on the house in Pudding Lane where the Great Fire started inscriptions that that Fire had been caused by the Papists. The Banquet entertainment must nave given him great pleasure. "The plotting Papists Litany"[1] and "The Protestants Exhortation"[2] were silent about the sins of the sects and Puritans, and concentrated on present dangers. The sermonizing "Protestants Exhortation" demanded that the English and Dutch combine against the Roman Catholic French, for

> We shall in snares be caught
> By this damn'd Popish Plot,
> If we (in Time) do not
> Love one another.[3]

"The plotting Papists Litany" is of more interest. The mock-litany was a favourite form in Jordan's day. He himself had used it in his Commonwealth "Letany for the New-year"[4], in which

> From Civil war, and such uncivil things
> As ruine Law and Gospel, Priests and Kings;
> From those who for self-ends would all betray,
> From such new Saints that Pistol when they pray...
> From those that ruine when they should repair,
> From such as cut of Heads instead of Hair,
> From twelve Months Taxes and abortive Votes,
> From chargeable Nurse-Children in red Coats...
> From these, and ten times more which may ensue,
> The Poet prays, Good Lord deliver you.

Most such litanies, like "The City or London's New Letany"[5] and "A Free-Parliament Letany"[6], used the

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1. T. Jordan, London's Glory. pp. 15/16.
2. ibid. pp. 14/15.
3. Rump. pt. 2. pp. 94/5.
4. ibid. pt 2. pp. 115/9.
5. ibid. pt. 2. pp. 183/9.

deprecatory Anglican form. "A Lenten Litany"[1] was a tour de force that closely imitated the triple [illegible] rhythm and two parts of the Anglican Litany, though curiously that which corresponds to the congregation's part is latinized:

> From Villany drest in the Doublet of Zeal,
> From three Kingdoms bak'd in one Common weal,
> From a gleek of Lord Keepers of one poor Seal,
> Libera nos, &c.
>
> That if it please thee to assist
> Our Agitators, and their List,
> And Hemp them with a gentle twist,
> Quaesimus te, &c.

Jordan, instead of following these and taking the Anglican Litany as his norm, had the happy notion of parodying the Roman Litanies of the Saints and thus satirically transforming Clement and Ravaillac, Digby and Campion, Parsons and Guy Fawkes, and, incongruously, the king-slayers Brutus and Cassius, into saints to whom we pray that

> THough our Plot be betray'd,
> Let us pursue it,
> We need not be dismay'd,
> We will renew it;
> Therefore let us implore
> Those saints above us,
> Who have done so before,
> And therefore love us.
> Joyntly then wee'l agree
> To sing a Litany,
> And let the burden be,
> Ora pro nobis.
>
> Ye that were two of those
> Excellent Members,
> Who did assist in the
> Plot of Novembers;

1. Rump.pt.1.pp.160/5. First stanza of each part quoted.

What you did leave undon,
(That we may do it,)
Grant us your Orison
And prompt us to it.
Ye that like Hooded Hawks,
Wrought in Dark-Lanthorn walks,
Digby, and Guido-Vaux,
  Ora pro nobis.

In 1681 Jordan had written the Lord Mayors' Shows for ten years, and during that time he had attacked nearly every group in England: Papist and Puritan had most to complain of, but they did not suffer alone. The navy had come badly out of the 1678 entertainment; the countryman's heart, it might be, was in the right place and his hand ready to strike for the right cause, but he was an uncouth fellow, fit only to grow peas and beans to fill the City's belly; the citizen himself, Jordan's patron, was convicted of unnecessary grumbling; and even the King had suffered from Jordan's tongue. Such outspokenness was all very well when relations between the King and the City were good; but in 1681 the dispute that ended in the City's loss of its Charter broke out with fury.[1] The King won; and the King's principal opponent was the former Lord Mayor, Sir Patience Ward, for whom Jordan had composed his tendentious "Litany" and "Exhortation". The very fact of play-

1.cf. p.163.

ing for the approval of one party meant the certain disapproval of the other. The veteran satirist may regretfully have realised that political fireworks at his age were somewhat too dangerous. For the mayoralty of the King's man Sir John Moore in 1681 Jordan was very restrained, merely resurrecting an old and rather dull song "Joy in the Gates"[1] from 1673, and thereafter steered clear of political satire, to the detriment of his Shows. The best song of 1682 celebrated

> the Man that lives quiet
> And follows his own occupation[2];

but this apparent neutralism turns out to be loyalty only to the present regime, and hence as politically partisan as the other songs[3] of the pamphlet. Even the drinking song is a salute to royalty.[4]

Jordan had been intermittently independent, but Taubman was a pattern of loyalty to whatever king might reign. In 1688, when James returned a truncated Charter to the City, a song[5] was composed for him that must have been nauseating to the Whigs compelled to hear it, addressed as it was

> To the Son of the Martyr,
> Who Restored us the Charter .

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1. T. Jordan, London's Joy. pp. 15/16 .
2. T. Jordan, The Lord Mayor's Show. 1682. p.6.
3. "Let the Traytors plot on 'till at last they'r undone" (ibid. p.4); "Live long the great Caesar, and Long may he Reign" (ibid. p.5); "Since the DUKE is return'd we'le slight all the Whigs" (ibid. p.5)
4. ibid. p.6.
5. M. Taubman, London's Anniversary Festival. p.12.

Some of Taubman's songs have vigour; the loyal martial song,—

DVbba-dubba-bud, stand your Ground"[1] -

is notable in this respect. Once Taubman used Jordan's semi-dramatic method of suiting the song to a singer dressed for a particular character. Taubman's singer is dressed in the "Habit of a Turk", but he does not in fact maintain the alien Turkish viewpoint throughout. The movement is from that viewpoint through an inappropriate phase of satire on the Turks to an overt attack, with a sudden change of person in the last four lines. "A Song...on the taking of Buda"[2] starts with a lament:

ALas! alas! and wellada!
That Fate shou'd quench the Sultan-Lamp!
Else we shou'd never yield the sway
To the Imperial conquering Camp.
Long time we sigh'd, long time we fough(t) in vain,
A long long Siege we did maintain,
(A) long long Siege we did maintain,
But there's no Force against Lorrain.

Now who will pity our sad case,
Vnless some pious Whig or Jew?
Whoe to explode the Christian Race,
Wou'd Heav'n to Mahomet subdue.
From such a Sect good Lord deliver me!
May London's Chair be ever free,
May London's Chair be ever free,
And guard all Christian Monarchy.

Settle's political songs[3] were no less sycophantic than Taubman's. His best-intentioned well-wisher could

1.M.Taubman, London's Annual Triumph. pp.15/16.
2.M.Taubman, London's Yearly Jubilee. p.16. First and last stanzas quoted.
3.E.Settle, Triumphs of London. 1695. pp.15/16; E.Settle, Glory's Resurrection. 1698. p.6.

claim little for such stufff as

> the brave British LYON the Lillies must Win.
> He began at the Boyne, and shall end at the Seine.[1]

Taubman's and Settle's political songs are both fewer in number than Jordan's and inferior in quality. This applies, too, to the other types of song; and of all the writers, Jordan was the only one with any interest in song drama.

It has been suggested here that the drolls and jigs and entertainments of the Commonwealth deeply influenced Jordan's work for the Lord Mayors' Shows. Such productions may have remained popular among those with no pretensions to literary taste, but they were regarded with contempt after the Restoration by those in the literary fashion. The opera, however, which also had its beginnings in England under Puritan rule, perhaps in the Red Bull theatre with which Jordan may have been connected[2], grew in influence and estimation after the Commonwealth's demise, and many fashionable writers attempted the genre. It is possible that Jordan was not only aware of the opera's development, but directly influenced by it.

The early operas were structurally sufficiently close to the loosely arranged Shows for influence to be easily assimilated.

E.Settle, Triumphs of London. 1695. p.16.
2.cf. pp. 279/80.

The tendency of the opera to dramatic unity was very slowly consummated. Among the early pieces, The Playhouse to be let includes both The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru and The History of Sir Francis Drake, formerly complete pieces. Even Shadwell's Psyche suffers constant spectacular but often irrelevant interruptions. The very revival of splendid and public spectacle in higher circles may well have injected new life into the civic annual pageant, that reached a peak of elaborateness in Restoration days.

Exotic personages, Indians, Negroes and so forth, and personifications of Africa and Asia, had naturally, as they were indications of economic empire, always appeared in the Lord Mayors' Shows. But with Jordan their importance was greatly increased: the Shows of 1672, 1674, 1675, 1678, 1679, and 1681 all include such personages. The opera, too, dealt to a large extent in this type of subject matter. Besides the operas already cited, Davenant's Siege of Rhodes,1656, and Settle's Empress of Morocco,1673, are cases in point. This type of subject was not confined to opera, and plays such as Dryden's Aurenge-zebe: or, The Great-Mogul, The Indian Emperor: or, The Conquest of Mexico, and Amboyna may also be relevant. The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru was a pre-Restoration piece, but Jordan frequently went back so far;[1] The Indian Emperor: or,

1. cf. pp. 285/6 and p. 300.

The Conquest of Mexico, was produced in 1667. In Jordan's 1672 Show there was a speech[1] by "The Indian Emperor" in which he said that

> The Princes of Peru and Mexico
> With our Imperial Train appear in State.

This is not conclusive, but the choice of Peru and Mexico does suggest that contemporary dramatic developments were in Jordan's mind.

Exotic characters were an ornament to Lord Mayors' Shows, but allegorical and classical ones were a necessity. These were no essential part of opera, but for the time being Shadwell's Psyche, Davenant's Circe, and Charles Venus and Adonis held the stage.[2] The appearance of Pomona, an unusual character, in London in its Splendor, 1673, may be merely a coincidence; or there may be a trace of operatic influence. Two years previously Cambert, collaborating with Perrin, had produced the opera Pomone in Paris,[3] and had thereafter emigrated to London.

Dryden's opera Albion and Albanius was not produced till 1685, and can therefore have no direct bearing on Jordan's Shows; nevertheless this rather poor opera shows the similarity of type very clearly. The opera opens in a street near the Royal Exchange. To Augusta (London) and Thamesis, lying dejected on

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1. T. Jordan, London Triumphant. pp. 4/5.
2. T. Jordan, London in its Splendor. p. 12.
3. Recueil General Des Opera. Paris. 1703. sig. a2v/a3.

couches, Mercury descends in a chariot. His opening speech is addressed to the "glorious Fabrick", the Royal Exchange, represented on the back scene. Democracy and Zelota(Puritanism) enter with suitable verses, but they are put to sleep by Archon(General Monk) and sink to the realms of Hypocrisy and Fanaticism, represented below the stage. Thamesis now demands a dance of her watermen; Juno and Iris descend in machines. At this point the scene changes to a series of triumphal arches, through which Albion and Albanius enter, preceded by a procession. These scenes, characters, and ideas, the scenes no doubt less elaborately, almost all appear in the later Lord Mayors' Shows.

Jordan does make direct reference to opera. In 1678 Crab, Swab, and Self were specifically directed to sing "in Stilo Recitativo"[1]. Recitative, outmoded in Italy itself, was popular in late seventeenth century England.[2] Nevertheless this type of singing for the playhouse to let had its detractors. One of the competitors/in Davenant's piece of that name was a musician who

> wou'd have introduc'd Heroique story
> In Stilo recitativo[3];

he defends himself against a player who seizes on the

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1. T. Jordan, Triumphs of London. 1678. p.14.
2. E.J.Dent, Foundations of English Opera. Cambridge. 1928. p.82.
3. W. Davenant, Works. 1673. pt.2.p.72.

obvious weak point with the view that

> Recitative Musick is not compos'd
> Of matter so familiar, as may serve,
> For every low occasion of discourse [1].

To make such music serve for "every low occasion of discourse", Thomas Duffett's method in Psyche Debauch'd, proved an excellent method for mock-opera, even pantomime. Countrymen and ridiculous incidents are put to music: the countryman Costard arranges a masque,

> and Crouder shall be Pan, and he must sing in resitantivy [2].

Such an example may have encouraged Jordan in his turn to burlesque the opera. Psyche Debauch'd was dated 1678, and included a character called Crabb [3]. Jordan's first direct rererence to the opera was the same year, and his interlude on that occasion also included a character called Crab. [4] But Jordan's last Show is like a mock-opera throughout: still looser in construction, but consisting of spectacular incidents highlighted by singing and dancing. The second pageant in 1684 displayed

> divers Living Figures...personally Representing the Heads of all Worldly Happiness [,who engage] in contention with Fortune, which of their Qualities doth most merit Preheminence: And are particularly Answer'd in Repartee, by the Goddess Fortune Vocally, in stilo Recitativo:
>
> Fortune. I am the great Goddess

---

1. ibid.pt.2. p.72. cf. ibid.pt.2.p.87.
2. T.Duffett, Psyche Debauch'd. 1678. p.5. (Psyche Debauch'd also contains a most entertaining mock litany. p.23.) cf. G.Villiers, Rehearsal. 1675. p.53.
3. T.Duffett, Psyche Debauch'd. sig.A3v.
4. See quotation and discussion on previous page.

That Governs the Bodies
Of Mortals by Sea and by Land;
What Men cannot hit
By Strength Wealth and Wit,
I do but with turning my Hand.
Chorus. Then cease your contention, and silence your Brawl,
Ye quarrel for nothing, 'tis Fortune doth all.

Long Life. Long-Life, Long-Life, Long-Life is a thing,
That pleases the Pesant and comforts the King:
In lusty Long-Life there be many expedients,
Long-Life is the promised Reward of Obedients.
Fortune. But when with Diseases and Crosses attended,
They dayly do wish that their Long-Life was ended.
Chorus. Then cease your contention, &c.
[Stanzas by Strength and Riches.]

Beauty. There is no such Treasure as bright Beauty brings,
'Tis pleasant to all, and it Captivates Kings:
To Femals Fair Faces Men do all their Duty,
Troy-Town is in Ashes, burn'd down by a Beauty:
Fortune. But after Ten Years spent in War for a Feather,
The Town and the Trifle ly buried together.
Chorus. Then cease your contention, &c.

Honour. Men hazard Long-Life, Wealth, and Beauty for Honour,
The Wealthiest and Wisest do all dote upon (her;
True Honour's derived from Royal Relation:
'Tis Honour's the cause of this Days Celebration.
Fortune. Your Honour's mistaken, for Fortunes Power such is,
She can make a Dairy-Wench rise to a Dutchess.
Chorus. Long-Life, Strength, and Beauty, and Honour must fall
To nothing, but he that hath Fortune, hath all.[1]

This song may be a burlesque in content as well as in style; it is reminiscent of the heroic tale of the contention of the goddesses before Paris.

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1. T. Jordan, Loddon's Royal Triumph. pp. 9/11. The song, "DId you not once Pastora Vow" (cf. p. 286) is also from this Show.

The parodies on opera may have encouraged Jordan occasionally to turn the hitherto sacrosanct pageantry to laughter. The prime example is his device or the "Academy or Sciences".[1] Surrounded by the dignified figures of Plato, Socrates, and a learned woman,

> Diogenes cometh out or his Tub; and with a Morose Visage and rugged Deportment

makes a frank and moral speech to his lordship, in the course of which he remarks,

> I have dwelt in a Tub, in Dayes of Yore,
> But ne're taught in a Currant-Butt before.
> The Grocers lent it mee.

Diogenes may have been one of Jordan's own bright ideas, or he may once again have been harking back, this time to Davenant's original attempt at producing an entertainment under the Commonwealth, when Diogenes, but not his tub, appeared.[2] For the tub itself, there were at least two possible inspirations near at hand. In 1667 Etherege had produced The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub. Settle's Pope-burning pageant of 1680, which showed Mrs. Celliers leaning on her Meal Tub,[3] is a still more probable source.

The most striking external testimony to the importance of music in Jordan's Shows is that most of them were published by John and/or Henry Playford,

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1.T.Jordan,London's Joy.p.11;cf. St.Dunstan and the Devil, Goldsmiths' Jubile. p.6.
2.W.Davenant,Works.pt.1.p.342/6.
3.cf.p.176.

England's first exclusively musical publishers, and that other writers' Shows, with the exception of the one immediately after Jordan's retirement or death, were published elsewhere. The popularity of Jordan's songs is also impressive. "COme, here's to the Man that lives quiet"[1] appeared publicly, with music[2], within three years of being sung at the Lord Mayor's table. "LEt us drink and be merry, dance, Joke, and Rejoice"[3] was printed with music in ~~no less than four~~ three different collections of songs ~~that between them ran into over a dozen editions~~ between 1676 and 1719.[4] "I Am a lusty lively lad"[5] went into the second and ~~the same~~ third of these collections. That song, like others[6], was also reprinted without music. Of songs written for the Show by other poets only one, Taubman's "The Storm is all over"[7], was of comparable popularity.

The music for these songs may have been composed for the Show by the composers under whose names it appears in the song-books; but there is no

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1.T.Jordan,The Lord Mayor's Show.p.6.
2.J.Playford,Catch that Catch Can:Or,the Second Part of the Musical Companion. 1685. no.24.
3.T.Jordan, Triumphs of London. p.20.
4.J.Playford,Choice Ayres,Songs, & Dialogues. 1676. p.95; W.Franck,Remedium Melancholiae.1690.p.16 ; H.Playford, Wit and Mirth.1699.pp.191/2; ~~J.Blow,Songs Compleat,Pleasant and Divertive.1719.~~
5.T.Jordan,London Triumphant.pp.19/20.
6.e.g.The inferior "West-Countryman's Song, on a Wedding"(Triumphs of London.1683.pp.6/8) re-appeared in A Collection of One Hundred and Eighty Royal Songs.1694. pp.103/4. Also cf. above pp.290/1.
7.M.Taubman,London's Annual Triumph.1685.pp12/13.This song, set by Jackson, appeared in Playford's Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion.1686.pt.2.no11.

certainty that this is so. Jordan gave the names of traditional tunes for some other songs[1] and recorded the melodies for more[2]. But the authorship of most of his melodies is far from clear. It is possible that John Gamble set many of the songs of the later pageant poets. He was Master of the City Music and on friendly terms[3] with both Tatham and Jordan. But no such settings appear in Gamble's published work or in his MS commonplace book[4]. It is probable that Jordan, at least, set many of his songs himself. One R.C. wrote some verses which were prefixed to Tricks of Youth, or The Walks, in which he says

> With Poetry you have Musick, and as soon
> As you have made the Song, you set the Tune[5].

There can be no doubt that Jordan's interest in music contributed greatly to his success in making

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1. T.Jordan, London Triumphant. p.17. (for possible tune cf. W.Chappell, Popular Music. 2 vols. London. 1830/40. v.1. p.235); ibid. p.17; T.Jordan, Londons Triumphs. 1677. p.23 (for possible tune cf. J. Playford, Musick's Delight on the Cithren. 1666. no. 23, & J. Playford, Choice Ayres. 1676. no.94.)
2. See Appendix 5.
3. J. Gamble, Ayres and Dialogues (bk.1). 1656. sig. bv. had prefatory verses by J. Tatham; J. Gamble, Ayres and Dialogues(bk. 2). 1659. has prefatory verses by T.Jordan: a)"To his Honest Friend and Old Acquaintance Mr. JOHN GAMBLE" (no sig.) b)"A DEFENCE FOR MUSICK In its Practique and Theorie" (no sig.).
4. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Macdonald Emslie, who has looked through the MS. for me.
5. T.Jordan, Tricks of Youth, or, The Walks. 1663. sig. A3.

an enjoyable entertainment of the Lord Mayor's Show. But his colleagues Tatham and Taubman shared a concern for music, and yet their Shows are much duller than Jordan's. Jordan's versatility was - unlike Settle's - used to full effect in his Shows: he drew material and methods from many sources. He alone among the later pageant poets gives the impression of having put energy and vitality into his Shows.

CONCLUSION.

The aim of this thesis has been to make a study, based on both MS and printed sources, of the Lord Mayor's Show in London during its heyday. In the course of this work several points have emerged.

The Show of the seventeenth century, with its procession of dignitaries and its pageantry and entertainment, had two distinct sources, separate in time from each other. The first was the official and legally required journey of the Lord Mayor from London to Westminster. Long before the sixteenth century this journey developed into a procession,by barge along the Thames and then on foot through the City. This remained the basic shape of the Show. In the first part of the sixteenth century another civic occasion, the Midsummer Show,was of considerable splendour. On that occasion the procession of the Lord Mayor and City dignitaries was made more magnificent by the provision of pageants for the Lord Mayor and his Sheriffs. At that time the celebrations for the inauguration of the Lord Mayor were not diversified by pageantry. But as the Midsummer Show died, its ornaments were transferred, as far as the weather was concerned less appropriately, to the mayoral inauguration on October 29th.

The Lord Mayor's Show, by its nature, was primarily a public festival, not an aesthetic creation. The eyewitness accounts given by contemporaries amply

demonstrate this. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but it is as well to be clear that in the eyes of the Show's organizers the literary and artistic elements were of decidedly subordinate importance. The purpose of the Show, the responsible Company said on one occasion, was

> the honor of the Cittie & worshipp of this companyl.

The poet's part was strictly practical, even utilitarian. He was

> And (tho' no Soldier) useful to the State, of some weight,[2]

The spoken verses and the descriptive pamphlet were written by him, and the uninhibitedness of Middleton's attacks on Munday would lead one to suppose that he was here, at least sometimes, without much supervision. Either alone or in conjunction with the artificer, and under considerable supervision, he was responsible for the device of the pageants. The actual building of the floats was usually the artificer's concern, but the business of teaching the actors and children their poses & speeches must have devolved largely on the poet. In addition to producing, or part-producing, the Show, he was also sometimes wardrobe-master, being reponsible for the costumes, and nurse, looking after the children's meals. Nevertheless there were wide fields of organization that were quite extra-literary: the raising of the money

1. Haberdashers' Hall MS. Court of Assistants' Mins. 1582/1652. f.27.
2. A. Pope, The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace. London. 1737. p.12.

to pay for the Show; the ordering and costuming of the procession; the feeding of the persons involved; the disposal of the pageants, which were mostly the Company's property. And it was into the general intention of honouring the Lord Mayor and the City that the poet's work, like many other things, had to be fitted. Naturally a dramatist was accustomed to working with all sorts and conditions of men, and he did not always get a free hand. But the degree of inter-dependence, between poet and artificer, between poet and Company, and the degree of control, were perhaps unusually high. On the other hand, the pay was fairly good.

The major poets of the time - Peele, Jonson, Middleton - devised the Lord Mayors' Shows in the early days, whereas later the City had to rely on men of small or blasted reputations, like Tatham and Settle. The causes of this are perhaps principally social. Before the Civil War there were plenty of jokes at the expense of citizens, and, on the part of some writers, a positive distaste for them; there were also private theatrical performances. But nevertheless the "groundlings" were theatre-goers, and taste was fairly homogeneous. Further, writers before the War were often of the people, and playwrighting was no passport to personal gentility. After the Restoration, on the

other hand, writing was much more an affair of amateurs and gentlemen. And it can hardly be an accident that the Show declined and disappeared in a period in which the dominant artistic values, at any rate, were aristocratic; for the Show celebrated the continued strength of the pushing City.

Both before and after the Civil War, the pageant poets were usually well chosen. Some, like Dekker, were accustomed to pleasing City audiences; others, like Heywood or Settle, were interested in or experienced in pageantry. It is not always easy to say what reason influenced an appointment: Tatham is a case in point here. Personal influence may sometimes have been useful - perhaps it helped Peele and Webster - but does not seem to have been a prime factor. Certainly there was sometimes a selection committee, judging not persons but designs for pageants, and at least in the earlier part of the period there was no custom of making an appointment for several years. Heywood came nearest to having a temporary monopoly, but the Ironmongers' Company had no objection to considering John Taylor's effort to break it. In these circumstances the notion that there was an office of "city poet" ~~[illegible]~~ cannot be sustained, at any rate for the period up to the Civil War. After 1657, the date of

Tatham's first Show, a poet's services were always given in consecutive years, but there is no evidence of any appointment, let alone of any emoluments going with the post, as distinct from the fee paid for a particular Show. Even in Settle's case, where the evidence is best, there is reason only to suppose that everyone tolerated his use of the term as a kind of title.

The pageantry itself was one example of a European genre. In one sense it was indeed rooted in the Midsummer Watch: that Watch seems to have inspired the notion of having pageantry, and in the early days actual pageants were transferred. Yet there were great differences: in particular, the pageantry of the Watch was mainly religious, and that of the Show secular. In this respect the Lord Mayor's Show was not unusual: the celebration of other great events was often diversified by secular pageantry. The pageants of the Renaissance London royal entries were mainly secular, especially if the word is taken to include deliberately moralizing pageants like many of Elizabeth's and to exclude only re-creations of Biblical or saints' stories. The Ommegang of Antwerp, appearing more or less annually from the end of the fourteenth century, gradually acquired impressive secular pageants to add to its ancient religious ones. The Renaissance London royal

entries and the annual Ommegang of Antwerp are in different ways specially closely comparable with the London Lord Mayor's Show. The royal entries belonged to England, and, more particularly, to London, and most of them were fully described by the Tudor chroniclers. As the most brilliant examples of pageantry in London at a time when the Lord Mayor's Show was developing, they may reasonably be expected to have exerted a certain influence. And indeed, parts of the coronation processions of Elizabeth and James 1 were imitated, the one by Heywood, who must have done a piece of research for the occasion, and the other by Dekker and Middleton, who were concerned in the 1604 celebrations. It is also possible, though not more, that the custom of having pageantry on the Thames may have been borrowed from a royal entry; but the idea was an obvious one anyway. Despite isolated imitations, most resemblances are due to the use of traditional material for similar purposes, in particular the honouring of a ruler. There are striking resemblances, too, between the Antwerp Ommegang and the London Lord Mayor's Show, for the Ommegang too was a civic display devoted to the glory of a river city of commercial eminence in an expanding world. The London Lord Mayor's Show, in fact, is one example of a mode of expression found everywhere in Europe - but it is unusually late. The royal entry of Charles 11 in 1660, splendid as it

was, was but an isolated instance of such pomp and ceremony. The Ommegang continued to appear throughout the seventeenth and even intermittently in the eighteenth century, but it reached its zenith in the sixteenth century. The Lord Mayor's Show, on the other hand, grew from humble beginnings with one pageant in the later part of the sixteenth century to its full glory in the seventeenth. Nevertheless it did not survive the last of the Stuarts, and the change of taste coming in with the Restoration played its part in causing sponsors' complaints of the inroads the Show made into their purses.

The changes of taste to some extent showed themselves in the Show itself, especially in the work of the most gifted of the later pageant poets, Thomas Jordan. His technique of introducing songs into the public part of the Show and turning the pageantry, however good-humouedly, to laughter, worked consistently to lighten the Show and provide enjoyable entertainment rather than impressive spectacle. Further, he moved the centre of gravity of the Show from the public display to the private Banquet entertainment. But if the distinction between the general populace and the inner ring of power was thus emphasized, the Banquet entertainments nonetheless owed much to popular taste: there were song dramas bearing close resemblances to the jigs and drolls of Cromwell's time, which became despised by aristocratic taste after the Restoration,

but held their own in popular esteem; there were songs very similar to the disillusioned ballads of Charles II's reign: Cromwell, the Puritans, and the sectaries were attacked, but so was the loose living of the Court. Some of Jordan's songs and pageants, too, suggest that their author was influenced by developments in drama, and especially in opera, at a level of society higher than that for which he was working. Almost all these innovations were gradually dropped by Taubman and Settle, and the Show once again became heavy pageantry enlivened with an occasional song.

This study of the Lord Mayor's Show does not exhaust the subject. Two obvious lines of approach lie quite outside my scope. The historian of the visual arts might find much to interest him here. The Show, being a combination of scene-designing, scene-painting, sculpture, even architecture, was quite as much art as literature. Social and political trends are reflected in many of the Shows: Peele, Heywood, Tatham, and Jordan are the pageant poets who have most to offer in this respect.

There are also aspects of some literary relevance which have not been examined in detail, though some have been lightly touched on. Work could be done on the sources of the Shows. The multitudinous allegorical figures found in them, for example, were probably often drawn from such dictionaries as Cesare

Ripa's Iconologia and Valeriano's Hieroglyphica. In Middleton's Tryumphs of Honor and Industry, 1617, appear the figures of Fortune, with a wheel; Peace, with a palm branch; Plenty, with fruits; Truth, with a sun; Harmony, with a lute; and Piety, with an altar. All these properties are found, associated with these or very similar figures, in Ripa[1]. It is true that many are commonplaces, yet the frequency of agreement[2] has a cumulative force; and Ripa was the man who made many ~~such~~ such ascriptions commonplace. Other sources - Elizabeth's and James's coronation processions, Jonson's Hymenaei, the Commonwealth droll Wiltshire Tom - have been suggested in the course of this thesis. This work could no doubt be extended. One rather pointless direction is the parasitic dependence of certain Shows upon their predecessors. It is not simply a case of the recurrence of similar situations. It has been shown, for example, how The Triumphs of Truth, 1613, was largely based upon Troia-Noua Triumphans, 1612.[3] In Middleton's Show of 1617 there is an example of an unconscious reminiscence of the earlier Show. The elaborate figure of Truth in 1613 bore a fan of stars. This detail is not in Ripa, but recurs in 1617. Of all the Shows, perhaps

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1.C. Ripa, Iconologia. 1611. p.183(Fortune); p.402(Pace. Nella Medaglo di Tito); p.1(Abondanza:picture); p.529 (Truth); p.28(Armonica:picture); p454(Religione).
2.It is not confined to this particular Show.
3. See pp. 214/8.

Middleton's, and of all his, perhaps The Triumphas of Truth, can best be ascribed to particular sources.

Two other mixed forms, in which both the spoken or written word and an appeal to the eye played an important part, have much in common with the Lord Mayor's Show. The first of these is the masque. Indeed, the Show can be regarded, in respect of its elaborate machinery, its allegorical and historical figures, and, even, its anti-masque in the shape of the comic device, as a middle-class masque. The open-air public spectacle, however, could never hope to approach the graceful intimacy of the indoor aristocratic diversion. The lighting effects of the genuine masque must have been one of its most potent charms, whereas the light of day would give no concealing softness to the defects of the Lord Mayor's Show. But in the early part of the century at least, the custom of an evening procession lent the glamour of torchlight to the civic triumph. One of the pageant poets was himself conscious of this. Munday wrote of the change in the Show; for

> Evening hastening on speedily, and those vsuall Ceremonies at Paules being accomplished: darkenesse becommeth like bright day, by bountifull allowance of lighted Torches... the order of march appeared... excellent and commendable, even as if it had been a Royall Maske, prepared for the marriage of an immortal Deitie[1].

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1. A.Munday, Metropolis Coronata. 1615. sig. B4v.

The emblem is the other mixed form with points of similarity, but here the unit to be considered is the individual pageant, not the whole Show. There is no question of sources here. Whitney, for example, has emblems[1] on the themes "Veritas temporis filia" and "Soli Deo gloria", both of which recur in the Lord Mayor's Show, the second because it is part of the motto of the Grocers' Company, and the first because it was a well-known concept. But the method of the emblem and the method of the pageant was often much the same. The emblem, at its most developed, had three parts: the motto, two examples of which are given above, the picture, sometimes a complicated one, expressing the theme, and the verses, elucidating the picture. A pageant in a Lord Mayor's Show was often simply a three-dimensional emblem. In Dekker's device "New Troyes Tree of Honor" the tableau has the function of the picture, the verses elucidate the meaning of the tableau, and there is a motto, "Viuite Concordes, Liue in Loue"[2].

The verse of the Shows, not very high in quality, has one feature of considerable interest. Even in the early part of the century, when blank verse was still the dominant form in drama, the speeches for

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1.G.Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes. Leyden. 1586. pp.4 & 228.
2.T.Dekker, Britannia's Honor. 1628. sig. Bv/B3. cf. ibid. sig. Cv/C2; T.Middleton, Tryymphs of Honor and Vertue. 1622. sig. Bv; A.Munday, Metropolis Coronata, sig. B4. This list is not complete, and could be almost indefinitely extended if the picture and explanatory verses only were demanded. It may be pointed out that Ripa's figures often carry banners with mottos and that he sometimes gives a picture,

the Lord Mayors' Shows were mostly written in rhyming decasyllabic couplets. This practice, naturally, was continued after the Restoration, but the couplets became lighter, neater, more frequently end-stopped, in fact, characteristic of their age. The historian of verse fashions could find much to interest him here, for similar sentiments are throughout expressed in the same form. He would have to a greater extent than is usually possible the conditions of a controlled experiment.

FINIS